

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

FILE NUMBER: 100-106670

MAIN FILE

SECTION: 69



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

MAIN FILE

100-106670

SECTION 69

FBI

Date: 4/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-57229)
 RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
 SM - C
 OO: Atlanta

Re: New York teletype to Bureau, captioned
 "COMINFIL, SCLC, IS-C", dated 4/11/67; New York teletype
 dated 4/12/67; Los Angeles teletypes dated 4/12/67, captioned
 as above.

Transmitted herewith is an original and 10 copies
 of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) suitable for dissemination
 concerning captioned subject.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (AM-REGISTERED)
 2 - Atlanta (100-5586) (Encl. 2) (AM-REGISTERED)
 2 - New York (100-136585) (Encl. 2) (AM-REGISTERED)
 1 - Los Angeles
 JST:gcw
 (8)

CLASS. & EXT. BY

REASON-FOIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW

APR 24 1967

Special Agent in Charge

APR 15 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
 AND FIELD OFFICES
 ADVISED BY ROUTING
 SLIP(S) BY ML
 DATE 12/10/

LA 100-57229

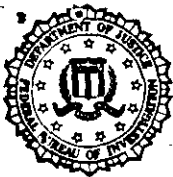
The Los Angeles Division will continue to remain alert for information concerning KING during his stay in Los Angeles through established sources and public news media.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
April 13, 1967

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER-C

The Los Angeles "Herald-Examiner", a major Metropolitan Los Angeles newspaper, on Wednesday, April 12, 1967, reported that Dr. Martin Luther King, on April 12, 1967, accused the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with misrepresenting his views on the Vietnam war. He told a news conference, which was held in Conference Room #7 at the Biltmore Hotel at 9:30 a.m. on April 12, 1967, that he favors a cessation of bombing, unilateral withdrawal of troops and an end to American participation in what he called an "unjust war". He said it was true he believes the war is hurting the civil rights movement. "But", he said, "the NAACP has created a myth about my views on Vietnam, which confuses the clear issues." The article noted that the NAACP recently declared that it is a "serious tactical error to link the civil rights and peace movements, because civil rights battles will have to be fought and won on their own merits, irrespective of the state of war or peace in the world." The article noted that King stated he was "sadden to think that the Board of Directors of the NAACP would join in the perpetuation of the myth about my views. They have challenged and repudiated a non-existent proposition." The article noted that in response to a question, King denied that he is or had ever been a member of the Communist Party, and according to the article, a moment later stated that though he is a "pacifist", he would have willingly fought against the Nazi menace of the 1940s.

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, on April 12, 1967, furnished a copy of the prepared statement by Dr. King which was delivered before a press conference at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles on April 12, 1967. The statement, which was followed by a question and answer period by representatives of the news media, is set forth as follows:

I have lived and worked in ghettos throughout the nation, and I travel tens of thousands of miles each month which takes me into dozens of northern and southern Negro communities. My direct personal experience with Negroes in all walks of life, convinces me that there is deep and widespread disenchantment with the war in Viet Nam; first, because they are against war itself, and secondly, because they feel it has caused a significant and alarming diminishing of concern and attention to civil rights progress. I have held these views myself for a long time but I have spoken more frequently in the recent period because Negroes in so many circles have explicitly urged me to articulate their concern and frustration. They feel civil rights is well on its way to becoming a neglected and forgotten issue long before it is even partially solved.

Recently, a myth about my views on Viet Nam has confused these clear issues. The myth credits me with advocating the fusion of the civil rights and peace movements and I am criticized for authoring such a "serious tactical mistake".

I hold no such view. Only a few weeks ago in a formal public resolution, my organization, SCLC, and I explicitly declared that we have no intention of diverting or diminishing any respect our activities in civil rights and we outlined extensive programs for the immediate future in the south as well as in Chicago.

I am saddened that the Board of Directors of the NAACP, a fellow civil rights organization, would join in the perpetuation of the myth about my views. They have challenged and repudiated a non-existent proposition. SCLC and I have expressed our views on the war and drawn attention to its damaging effects on civil rights programs, a fact we believe to be incontrovertible and therefore, mandatory to express in the interest of the struggle for equality.

I challenge the NAACP and other critics of my position to take a forthright stand on the rightness or wrongness of this war, rather than going off creating a non-existent issue.

We do not believe in any merger or fusion of movements but we equally believe that no one can pretend that the existence of the war is not profoundly affecting the destiny of civil rights progress. We believe that despite the war our efforts can produce results and our strength is fully committed to that end. But it would be misleading and shallow to suggest that the role of the war is not hampering it substantially and it can be ignored as a factor.

Loud and raucous voices have already been raised in Congress and elsewhere suggesting that the nation cannot afford to finance a war against poverty and in equality on an expanding scale and a shooting war at the same time. It is perfectly

clear the nation has the resources to do both, but those who oppose civil rights and favor a war policy have seized the opportunity to pose a false issue to the public. This should not be ignored by civil rights organizations. The basic element in common between the peace movement and the civil rights movement are human elements.

I am a clergyman as well as a civil rights leader and the moral roots of our war policy are not un-important to me. I do not believe our nation can be a moral leader of justice, equality and Democracy if it is trapped in the role of a self-appointed world policeman. Throughout my career in the civil rights movement I have been concerned about justice for all people. For instance, I strongly feel that we must end not merely poverty among Negroes but poverty among white people. Likewise, I have always insisted on justice for all the world over, because justice is indivisible and injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. I will not stand idly by when I see an unjust war taking place and fail to take a stand against it. I will continue to express my opposition to this wrong policy without in any way diminishing my activity in civil rights, just as millions of Negro and white people are doing day in and day out.

Q: Dr. King.

King: Yes sir.

Q: What would you do sir, to bring the war to a halt?

King: I feel that the United States is superbly placed to initiate steps that I believe can bring an end to this war. The first thing I would suggest in line with that of many other people is the halting of the bombing. Secondly, I think we should take the initiative to bring about a cease fire. I think unilaterally we can do that hoping that as a result of this it will create the atmosphere for negotiations. I think we should also begin the process of removing all military build-up in Southeast Asia, where there is in Thailand and stop interfering in Laos. I think the fourth thing that should be done is to make an unequivocal statement that the National Liberation Front should be a part of the negotiations, and also recognize realistically that many people in South Viet Nam follow the National Liberation Front, and that they must be a part in the future government. And finally I think we should just reconvene the Geneva Conference, in other words abide by the Geneva

Corps by setting a date that we will remove our troops from Viet Nam, and I believe all of this will bring about a comment which will force Hanoi to negotiate.

Q: How then will we keep the civil rights moving at the same tempo, to being the war to a halt, and what would you desire to see done there?

King: Well, I think many of the resources that we are putting in this war would be placed into programs that would certainly make equality and justice a greater reality for Negroes, and for all of the poor people of our country. We are spending about 35 billion dollars a year in Viet Nam, the war in Viet Nam, and we are not quite coming up to two billion in the skirmish against poverty, and until we get rid of this war and get rid of our obsession with it as a nation, these programs are going to continue to suffer, the programs dealing with poverty, the programs dealing with slums and getting rid of the blight of our cities, so that the resources in the war can well be turned and should be turned toward the ending of poverty and all of the conditions that make for our frustration and despair in our cities all over the country.

Q: Dr. King, we are talking about peace in Viet Nam, what about civil rights?

King: Well, I've tried to make that clear in this statement and I have great respect for Dr. Bunch, but I certainly can agree with that.....I think I have not only a right but I think I have a responsibility to take a stand in both of these areas, and I don't think he weakens either. I said a few minutes ago that I am a clergyman and I take my responsibility as a clergyman very seriously and I think that along with the priestly function of the clergyman, there is prophetic function, and that means that I must forever seek to bring the insights of our _____ Christian heritage to _____ on the social evils of our day, and I think war is a social evil consequently I must take a stand on this. I do it not out of anger...I do it out of great anxiety and agony and anguish of spirit in many points because I feel that this war is damaging the soul of our nation, and it is diverting attention from civil rights, so I do not see how anybody can fail to see the interrelatedness of the two issues.

Q: But in practical terms, doesn't this number one divide the civil rights movement to begin with, and secondly,

Q:
(con't)

lose the civil rights movement a great deal of support by those people who are in favor of war in Viet Nam?

King:

I think the existence of the war in Viet Nam does much more to weaken the civil rights movement than my standing against the war in Viet Nam.

Q:

(Cut off, cannot hear)

King:

I think again the war in Viet Nam is a much graver injustice to Negroes in the United States than anything that I could say against that war, that is the only answer I can give to that...Negroes are _____ in numbers, Negroes are 10% of the population of this country, and 22% of the deaths in Viet Nam. Negroes are experiencing spiritual and psychological death in the slums of our cities every day because the programs are not emerging to solve those problems, and they are not emerging in many instances because of the war in Viet Nam. Consequently, I would say that the injustice is being done to Negroes, and being done by the existence of this war, and not by any statement that I am making or any involvement that I may have in the peace movement.

Q:

Dr. King, I'd like to put the question this way sir. Some of your severest critics are basing their

Q:
(con't)

argument against you on the claim that your placing the principle blame for the war in Viet Nam on the United States rather than on the other side. Now, how do you deal with this argument?

King:

Well, I deal with it only on the basis of the facts there is no doubt about the fact that we initiated the build-up of this war on land, on the seas and in the air. And, this is why I say that we must take initiatives to end the war. There is no doubt about the fact that Viet Nam declared itself independent in 1945. We refused to accept or recognize Viet Nam at that time and this was before China, Communist China, came into being. After that for eight years we have supported the French and their attempt to recapture their former colony, and we supported it toward the end to the tune of more than 80% of the financial and supply build-up of that particular war, and even after the French started despairing of our reckless action we encouraged them to go on, and even after they were defeated and _____ we still were determined after the Geneva accord in 1954, we participated in bringing to power Premier Diem who engaged in some of the most ruthless and oppressive actions known in that particular area of the world.

King:
(con't)

We participated in helping Diem prevent the election of 1956, from taking place, so anybody can see that our hands are not clean in the situation. I am not white-washing Hanoi....I do not approve of violence, I am a non-violent believer devotee and I want this conflict to be solved non-violently, without violence, but we must admit that the United States has participated in this build-up and I think it is because of the misreading of history on our part, a kind of paranoid or morbid fear of communism.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER-C

The source advised that after the news conference at the Biltmore Hotel in Downtown Los Angeles, King proceeded to Occidental College, Los Angeles, where he spoke before the student body in Thorne Hall at 11:00 a.m., April 12, 1967. The source estimated that an overflow crowd of students and professors totaling thirteen hundred were in attendance or who listened to Dr. King's speech by means of auxiliary speakers set up in adjoining rooms to Thorne Hall. The speech was well received, according to the source. Dr. King spoke on integration and suggested a massive integration program be undertaken by the United States. He told of the need for a guaranteed annual income and he favored the adoption of a National Bill of Rights for all Negroes, similar to that which has been established for the veterans of World War II, the Korean War, and the current Vietnam War. He stated that in his opinion, the Vietnam War was a needless waste of time and money, and that this country's resources should be directed toward the Poverty Program.

Following Dr. King's speech, an impromptu press conference was held, at which time he briefly touched on current inequities in the draft and the fact that more Negro soldiers were dying in the war than Caucasian soldiers. He explained that many Negroes, in order to enhance their economic status, join the service and are subsequently sent to the war zone, and this was the reason for the higher percentage of Negroes being killed or wounded than the Caucasian soldiers.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/10/67

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CD/B*

- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 JRM/4*
ON *7-5-80*

54666 105143515

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following:

b(2) b(7)(D) [redacted] advised that Stanley Levison, top advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with an associate recently. Levison commented that he was in contact recently with Rockefeller concerning some iron ore deposits in Venezuela. At that time Rockefeller evidenced displeasure with King's stand on Vietnam. Rockefeller requested Levison to arrange a meeting between King and Rockefeller to discuss this matter. *U*

Levison was pleased at this development because this would give King an opportunity to discuss South America with Rockefeller. King feels that South America is the next Vietnam and he would like to advise Rockefeller of what steps to take to thwart this. It is believed that the Rockefeller referred to by Levison is Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the copies of the enclosures be forwarded by routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House; the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; the Honorable Richard Helms, the Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar. *U*

Enclosures *sent 4-10-67*

100-106670

1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:jav

(6) *gpc*

Classified by *6080 JRM/4*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/27/77*

CLASS. & EXT. BY *983 JRM/4*
REASON: *1-2.4.2*
DATE OF REVIEW *4-10-87*

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

SECRET

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SPJ/ML/42*
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION *4-10-87*
54688
80374
73518
6076

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

April 10, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past. *u*

Stanley Levison, a top adviser to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in conference with an associate recently. Levison commented that he had conferred with Rockefeller concerning some Venezuelan iron ore deposits earlier. At that time Rockefeller asked Levison to arrange a meeting for him with Martin Luther King, Jr., so he could discuss King's position on the Vietnam War. Rockefeller advised that he was in complete disagreement with King in this regard. *u*

Levison informed his associate that this was an excellent opportunity for King to give Rockefeller King's views on South America. According to Levison, King feels South America has the potential of being the next Vietnam and wants to advise Rockefeller of the appropriate steps to be taken to avoid this. *u*

The source advised he believed the Rockefeller referred to by Levison was Nelson Rockefeller, Governor, New York. *u*

12-10-79
4/10/87
CLASS. & EXT. BY 9804 RDD/lan
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-10-87
SENT PER NOTATION
ON MEMORANDUM
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Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Gale _____
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Sullivan _____
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Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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100-106670

1 - Bufile

100-438794 (SCLC)

DHW:dsm

(8)

APR 21 1967

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TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Classified by *6080*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/2/77*

SEE NOTE PAGE 11

~~SECRET~~

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; THE SECRETARY OF STATE; THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL, YEAGLEY AND DOAR. *u*

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as the source for the above information is a highly sensitive source relating to the racial situation. *u*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY **SP4JMM/ik**
REASON FOR EXTENSION **2**

F B I

~~SECRET~~

Date: 4/12/67

Transmit the following in
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION **4-12-67**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL **54688 6076**

73514 80514

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SCLC
IS - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF **classification**

DATE **2-22-78**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Re NY teletype dated 4/11/67, concerning conference
between MARTIN LUTHER KING, STANLEY LEVISON and other
advisors of KING.

Enclosed are 10 copies of a LHM reporting informa-
tion contained in re communication. [redacted] was the
source of the information in the LHM [redacted]

b(1)
Classified in [redacted]
Exempt from GDS category [redacted]
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/1/77

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

100-106670-

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5718) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1-Los Angeles (100-) (INFO) (RM)
- 3-New York
 - (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (4)
 - (1 - 100-136585) (HARRY WACHTEL) (43)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF **classification**
DATE **4-12-87**

JMK:pam
(11)

Approved:

55 APR 19 1967 Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

INT. SEC.

CLASS. & EXT. BY **903200/SM**
DATE OF REVIEW **4-12-87**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
April 12, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bureau 100-438794

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4JEM/1
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 4-12

~~SECRET~~ 6076
546 FR
80574
737K
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY 12/10/79
DATE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Communist Infiltration of the
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)
Internal Security - C

On April 11, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had learned that Martin Luther King, the President of the SCLC, met with several of his advisors on that date, namely, Stanley Levison, Harry Wachtel, Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King, and Tom Offenberger, the SCLC Public Relations man. Their conference concerned an attack made against King by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) arising from a speech by King on April 4, 1967. It was during the speech that King urged Negroes to become conscientious objectors to the war in Vietnam.

Levison, Wachtel and Offenberger agreed to compose separate statements and give them to Dora McDonald, King's personal secretary. Upon receiving their statements, King and Young agreed to assemble a statement from the three and then deliver the statement on April 12, 1967, during a press conference in Los Angeles, California.

The statements to be made by King would not only answer the allegations made by the NAACP, but a critical statement by Senator Jacob Javits as well. According to the source, the remarks made by the NAACP and Senator Javits were that King and the SCLC were trying to fuse the civil rights movement and the peace movement.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) BY 12/10/79
DATE

Classified by 6080 J/TAR
Exempt from GDS Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/12/77

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12-10-77
CLASS. & EXT. BY 9102 RDD/CLM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-12-87

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100-106670-
ENCLOSURE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NET REC. 4/12/67 N.Y. airtel pg. 2

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Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u

[REDACTED] b(1)

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

[REDACTED] b(1)

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] b(1)

[REDACTED] c

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr. is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC.

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4JMM/ML*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *(2)* F B I
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION *4-10-87*
at the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 4/10/67

Via AIRTEL

6074

(Type in plaintext)
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY *MLJ* DATE *12/10/77*
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re New York teletype, dated 4/7/67.

Enclosed are 11 copies of an LHM reporting information from *[redacted]*, a source close to STANLEY LEVISON. Two copies are enclosed for Atlanta and Chicago.

- 5* - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL SCLC)
2 - Atlanta (100-6670) (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
6 - New York
 (1 - 100-111180) (LEVISON) (43)
 (1 - 100-148299) (WACHTEL) (43)
 (1 - 100-136585) (KING) (43)
 (1 - 100-149194) (SCLC) (43)
 (1 - 100-154917) (SMC) (42)

RM:pan
(16)

Do not disseminate this info in WH let dated 4/10/67. Amey

15 APR 11 1967

Approved: *[Signature]* Special Agent in Charge
Sent *4-10-87* M Per

61 APR 17 1967

NOT RECORDED

185 APR 18 1967

Classified by *6080 Lel 118A*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY *Classified* DATE *2-22-98* JAB/CE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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per REC. 4/10/67 N.Y. airtel p. 2

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
April 10, 1967

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4 JRM/ld*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *2*
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION *4-10-87*
6076

~~SECRET~~

Communist Infiltration of
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On April 6, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel, New York advisors to Martin Luther King, Jr., were in conference concerning King's speech at Riverside Church, New York City, on April 4, 1967.

Wachtel thought the text of King's speech was solid and wants it printed for distribution. Levison felt the speech was too advanced for many Negroes and that it did not constitute the widest appeal. King, Levison feels, should not have spoken from the point of view of a Vietcong peasant.

It was Levison's belief that Andrew Young, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), wrote King's speech, but Wachtel believes that "guy at Spellman" (Spelman College, Atlanta) wrote it. Wachtel felt the section of the speech about this country acting like Germany acted in the last war offended many people. Levison agreed, and commented King should realize he is dealing with the State Department and the Pentagon and not some stupid sheriff, and that if he did get people to stand on bridges in Vietnam, they would not be bombed, but instead there would be an invasion of North Vietnam, which King would be responsible for.

With regard to King's scheduled appearance before the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam on April 15, 1967, Levison is unenthusiastic, since he does not feel that King can capture that audience.

Classified by *6080 RAL/MP*
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
10/2/77

~~SECRET~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

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CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP4 JRM/ld*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *2*
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION *4-10-87*

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *mt*
DATE *12/10/79*

DATE

SLIP (S) OF CLASSIFICATION
DATE *2-22-78* BY *JF/ef*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *mt*
DATE *12/10/79*

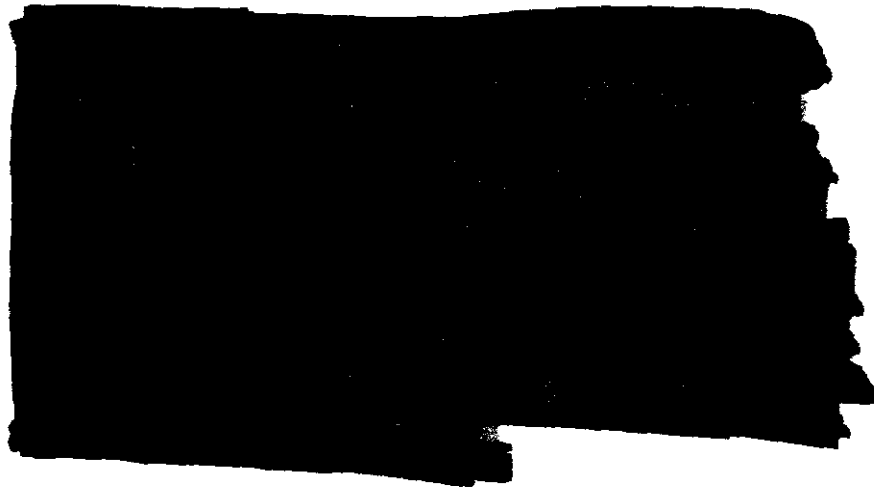
Communist Infiltration of
Racial Matters

~~SECRET~~

According to Levison, Bennett (Dr. John Bennett, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York City) and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr (Professor Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary) have talked about getting ten thousand young men and their parents to go to Washington to turn in their draft cards. Levison felt they would violate the law if they do this.

Finally, Wachtel mentioned that King will meet with Rockefeller (Governor Nelson Rockefeller, New York) on April 22 or 24, 1967, to discuss the Vietnam position of King.

Levison and Joan Daves (Publishers' Representative) were also in contact on April 6, 1967, during which Levison revealed that King will change his emphasis from peace to the Chicago Action Campaign after the middle of April. Levison also disclosed that a meeting dealing with tactics will be held in Atlanta in the near future.



b(1)

S

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u

[REDACTED] b(1)

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto. u

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] b(1)

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr., is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC. u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild: u

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.) u
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.) u
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)" u

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CRB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

DATE: 4/12/67

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Wells

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning the following: *U*

On April 11, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Andrew Young, Executive Director, and Tom Offenberg, Public Relations Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference were in conference with King's top advisors. This conference was concerning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's attack on the anti-Vietnam speech delivered by King on April 4, 1967. It was decided both statements made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Senator Jacob Javits, Democrat, New York, attacking King's speech had to be answered. It was agreed that Stanley Levison, Harry Wachtel, and Tom Offenberg would compose separate statements that King could consolidate and use in a press conference to be held at Los Angeles, California, on 4/12/67. Harry Wachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist Party front and Stanley Levison is a long-time secret Communist Party member. *S*

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached be forwarded by routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, The White House, Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, Honorable Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar. *U*

Enclosures *sent 4-12-67*

100-106670

1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:eco
(7)

~~SECRET~~

APR 14 1967

~~SECRET~~

Classified by *6080 DP/APP*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/8/77*

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4/MLA*

1-21-81

6076

60114 73578

CLASS. & EXT. BY *9803 RDD/EP*
DATE OF REVIEW *4-12-87*

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

April 12, 1967

1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DECLASSIFIED BY

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On April 11, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President; Andrew Young, Executive Director; and Tom Offenberger, Public Relations Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; were in conference with King's top advisors, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel. This conference was concerning the statement made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People attacking the anti-Vietnam War speech delivered by King on April 4, 1967. It was decided that both the statements made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Senator Jacob Javits, Democrat, New York, attacking King's speech had to be answered. It was agreed that Levison, Wachtel, and Offenberger would compose separate statements that King could consolidate and use in a press conference to be held in Los Angeles, California, on April 12, 1967.

Stanley Levison is a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as of July, 1963. Harry Wachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

XEROX COPIES TO THE WHITE HOUSE, SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MCNAMARA, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL WAGLEY AND DOAR.

DHW:dsu

APPROPRIATE (S) AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF DATE 2-22-78

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Wick	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

EXCLUDED FROM automatic downgrading and declassification

Classified by 6656
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 1/2/77

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4/DAW/ld
ON 1-21-81

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

NOTE:

See C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan memorandum dated 4/12/67, same caption, prepared by DMW:CSO. *u*

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as the sources for the above information are highly sensitive sources relating to the racial situation. *u*

~~SECRET~~

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/6/67

The identity of the Rockefeller in attached teletype is unknown. However, it is noted that Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York State has extensive land holdings in Venezuela, South America. **a**

Information in the attached will be furnished the White House, State Department, Defense Department, CIA, and the Attorney General.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DMW:CSH

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/CSH

REASON FOR EXT. 1-2.1.2

DATE OF REVIEW 4-6-87

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JEM/LL

ON 1-21-81 6076

~~SECRET~~

FBI NEW YORK 151
200 PM URGENT 4/6/67 JMV
TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA

TELETYPE UNIT
APR 6 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

~~SECRET~~

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON ENCODED
FROM NEW YORK 2P

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 12/10/79 MLK

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SECURITY MATTER - C
AND FIELD OFFICES
OO-ATLANTA ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Class

COMMENT

DATE 3-31-81 WGS DATE 2/2/78 JFB/LE S

b(2) b(7)(D) BURFILE 100-106670 ATLANTA 100-5586 NEW YORK 100-136585.

[REDACTED] FURNISHED INFORMATION
ON APRIL FIVE LAST WHICH DISCLOSED THAT STANLEY LEVISON,
WHILE IN CONTACT WITH A MAN WHOM SOURCE DID NOT KNOW, REVEALED THAT
HE, LEVISON, HAD TALKED TO ROCKEFELLER (BELIEVED ALLUDING TO
GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER) RECENTLY ABOUT VENEZUELAN IRON ORE
DEPOSITS WHICH "THEY" (ROCKEFELLER ENTERPRISE) ARE NEGOTIATING
WITH THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO LEVISON, IT WAS
DURING CONTACT THAT ROCKEFELLER ASKED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN
MARTIN KING AND HIMSELF SO THAT HE, ROCKEFELLER, CAN TALK TO HIM ABOUT
HIS STAND ON VIETNAM. ROCKEFELLER TOLD LEVISON HE WAS IN SUCH DISA-
GREEMENT WITH KING THAT HE JUST HAD TO TALK TO HIM. LEVISON
REMARKED TO UNMALE THAT ROCKEFELLER'S REQUEST WAS A REAL BREAK
SINCE KING HAD MENTIONED ON APRIL FOUR LAST THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO
CONFER WITH HIM ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AMERICA. KING, ACCORDING

END PAGE ONE

61 APR 20 1967
12-10-79
CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/ELM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-6-87

Classified by 6080 LEO/TAP
Exempt from GDS Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
10/2/77

~~SECRET~~

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

RELAYED TO

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

TO LEVISON, BELIEVES SOUTH AMERICA WILL BE THE NEXT VIETNAM AND THEREFORE WANTS TO ADVISE ROCKEFELLER AS TO WHAT ACTION HE SHOULD TAKE TO THWART IT. LEVISON ENDED HIS CONTACT BY STATING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONTACT KING TO SEE WHEN THE MEETING COULD BE ARRANGED. **S**

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

HL- R ELAY
FBI WASH DC

YUR F S
1/11/68

711-1111

YUR F S
1/11/68

~~SECRET~~

CC MR. SULLIVAN

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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100-106670-2886

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: April 10, 1967

1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒ _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Attached for your approval for dissemination is a letter to the White House containing a copy of the speech delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on April 4, 1967, at the Riverside Church, New York, New York. *Shaw*

The President has expressed an interest in obtaining a copy of this speech. *W.C.*

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosures be forwarded to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House. *W.C.*

100-106670

Enclosures *sent 4-11-67* *OK*

1 - 100-438794

(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:cst
(6)

REC 36

EX-108

APR 14 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-10-79 BY 9103 RAD/AM

ENCLOSURE

ENCL. BEHIND FILE

84 APR 24 1967

INT. SEC.

An Address by
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. ---
The Riverside Church
New York, New York
Tuesday, April 4, 1967

1-19-81
6076
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

BEYOND VIET NAM

I COME TO THIS MAGNIFICENT HOUSE OF
WORSHIP TONIGHT BECAUSE MY CONSCIENCE LEAVES ME
NO OTHER CHOICE. I JOIN YOU IN THIS MEETING BECAUSE
I AM IN DEEPEST AGREEMENT WITH THE AIMS AND WORK
OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BROUGHT US TOGETHER:
CLERGY AND LAYMEN CONCERNED ABOUT VIET NAM. THE
RECENT STATEMENT OF YOUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ARE
THE SENTIMENTS OF MY OWN HEART AND I FOUND MYSELF
IN FULL ACCORD WHEN I READ ITS OPENING LINES: "A TIME
COMES WHEN SILENCE IS BETRAYAL. THAT TIME HAS COME
FOR US IN RELATION TO VIET NAM."

THE TRUTH OF THESE WORDS IS BEYOND DOUBT,
BUT THE MISSION TO WHICH THEY CALL US IS A MOST DIFFICULT
ONE. EVEN WHEN PRESSED BY THE DEMANDS OF INNER TRUTH
MEN DO NOT EASILY ASSUME THE TASK OF OPPOSING THEIR
GOVERNMENT'S POLICY, ESPECIALLY IN TIME OF WAR. NOR
DOES THE HUMAN SPIRIT MOVE WITHOUT GREAT DIFFICULTY
AGAINST ALL THE APATHY OF CONFORMIST THOUGHT WITHIN
ONE'S OWN BOSOM AND IN THE SURROUNDING WORLD. MOREOVER
WHEN THE ISSUES AT HAND SEEM AS PERPLEXING AS THEY OFTEN
DO IN THE CASE OF THIS DREADFUL CONFLICT WE ARE ALWAYS
ON THE VERGE OF BEING MESMERIZED BY UNCERTAINTY: BUT
WE MUST MOVE ON.

SOME OF US WHO HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO
BREAK THE SILENCE OF THE NIGHT HAVE FOUND THAT THE

CALLING TO SPEAK IS OFTEN A VOCATION OF AGONY, BUT
WE MUST SPEAK. WE MUST SPEAK WITH ALL THE HUMILITY
THAT IS APPROPRIATE TO OUR LIMITED VISION, BUT WE MUST
SPEAK. AND WE MUST REJOICE AS WELL, FOR SURELY THIS
IS THE FIRST TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY THAT A
SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ITS RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE CHOSEN
TO MOVE BEYOND THE PROPHECYING OF SMOOTH PATRIOTISM
TO THE HIGH GROUNDS OF A FIRM DISSENT BASED UPON
THE MANDATES OF CONSCIENCE AND THE READING OF HISTORY.
PERHAPS A NEW SPIRIT IS RISING AMONG US. IF IT IS LET US
TRACE ITS MOVEMENTS WELL AND PRAY THAT OUR OWN
INNER BEING MAY BE SENSITIVE TO ITS GUIDANCE, FOR WE
ARE DEEPLY IN NEED OF A NEW WAY BEYOND THE DARKNESS
THAT SEEMS SO CLOSE AROUND US.

OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS AS I HAVE
MOVED TO BREAK THE BETRAYAL OF MY OWN SILENCES AND
TO SPEAK FROM THE BURNINGS OF MY OWN HEART, AS I HAVE
CALLED FOR RADICAL DEPARTURES FROM THE DESTRUCTION
OF VIET NAM, MANY PERSONS HAVE QUESTIONED ME ABOUT
THE WISDOM OF MY PATH. AT THE HEART OF THEIR CONCERNS
THIS QUERY HAS OFTEN LOOMED LARGE AND LOUD: WHY ARE
YOU SPEAKING ABOUT THE WAR, DR. KING? WHY ARE YOU
JOINING THE VOICES OF DISSENT? PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS
DON'T MIX, THEY SAY. AREN'T YOU HURTING THE CAUSE
OF YOUR PEOPLE, THEY ASK? AND WHEN I HEAR THEM,
THOUGH I OFTEN UNDERSTAND THE SOURCE OF THEIR CONCERN,
I AM NEVERTHELESS GREATLY SADDENED, FOR SUCH QUESTIONS
MEAN THAT THE INQUIRERS HAVE NOT REALLY KNOWN ME, MY
COMMITMENT OR MY CALLING. INDEED, THEIR QUESTIONS

SUGGEST THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW THE WORLD IN WHICH
THEY LIVE.

IN THE LIGHT OF SUCH TRAGIC MISUNDER-
STANDING I DEEM IT OF SIGNAL IMPORTANCE TO TRY TO
STATE CLEARLY, AND I TRUST CONCISELY, WHY I BELIEVE
THAT THE PATH FROM DEXTER AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH--
THE CHURCH IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA WHERE I BEGAN
MY PASTORATE--LEADS CLEARLY TO THIS SANCTUARY TONIGHT.

SINCE I AM A PREACHER BY TRADE, I SUPPOSE
IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT I HAVE SEVEN MAJOR REASONS
FOR BRINGING VIET NAM INTO THE FIELD OF MY MORAL
VISION. THERE IS AT THE OUTSET A VERY OBVIOUS AND ALMOST
FACILE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE WAR IN VIET NAM AND
THE STRUGGLE I, AND OTHERS, HAVE BEEN WAGING IN AMERICA.
A FEW YEARS AGO THERE WAS A SHINING MOMENT IN THAT

STRUGGLE. IT SEEMED AS IF THERE WAS A REAL PROMISE
OF HOPE FOR THE POOR--BOTH BLACK AND WHITE--THROUGH
THE POVERTY PROGRAM. THERE WERE EXPERIMENTS, HOPES,
NEW BEGINNINGS. THEN CAME THE BUILD-UP IN VIET NAM
AND I WATCHED THE PROGRAM BROKEN AND EVISCERATED
AS IF IT WERE SOME IDLE POLITICAL PLAYTHING OF A
SOCIETY GONE MAD ON WAR, AND I KNEW THAT AMERICA
WOULD NEVER INVEST THE NECESSARY FUNDS OR ENERGIES
IN REHABILITATION OF ITS POOR SO LONG AS ADVENTURES
LIKE VIET NAM CONTINUED TO DRAW MEN AND SKILLS AND
MONEY LIKE SOME DEMONIC DESTRUCTIVE SUCTION TUBE. SO
I WAS INCREASINGLY COMPELLED TO SEE THE WAR AS AN ENEMY
OF THE POOR AND TO ATTACK IT AS SUCH.

PERHAPS THE MORE TRAGIC RECOGNITION OF
REALITY TOOK PLACE WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR TO ME THAT

THE WAR WAS DOING FAR MORE THAN DEVASTATING THE
HOPES OF THE POOR AT HOME. IT WAS SENDING THEIR SONS
AND THEIR BROTHERS AND THEIR HUSBANDS TO FIGHT AND TO
DIE IN EXTRAORDINARILY HIGH PROPORTIONS RELATIVE TO
THE REST OF THE POPULATION. WE WERE TAKING THE BLACK
YOUNG MEN WHO HAD BEEN CRIPPLED BY OUR SOCIETY AND
SENDING THEM 8,000 MILES AWAY TO GUARANTEE LIBERTIES
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WHICH THEY HAD NOT FOUND IN SOUTHWEST
GEORGIA AND EAST HARLEM. SO WE HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY
FACED WITH THE CRUEL IRONY OF WATCHING NEGRO AND WHITE
BOYS ON TV SCREENS AS THEY KILL AND DIE TOGETHER FOR
A NATION THAT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SEAT THEM TOGETHER
IN THE SAME SCHOOLS. SO WE WATCH THEM IN BR^TUAL
SOLIDARITY BURNING THE HUTS OF A POOR VILLAGE BUT WE
REALIZE THAT THEY WOULD NEVER LIVE ON THE SAME BLOCK
IN DETROIT. I COULD NOT BE SILENT IN THE FACE OF SUCH

CRUEL MANIPULATION OF THE POOR.

MY THIRD REASON MOVES TO AN EVEN
DEEPER LEVEL OF AWARENESS, FOR IT GROWS OUT OF MY
EXPERIENCE IN THE GHETTOS OF THE NORTH OVER THE LAST
THREE YEARS--ESPECIALLY THE LAST THREE SUMMERS. AS
I HAVE WALKED AMONG THE DESPERATE, REJECTED AND
ANGRY YOUNG MEN I HAVE TOLD THEM THAT MOLOTOV COCKTAILS
AND RIFLES WOULD NOT SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. I HAVE
TRIED TO OFFER THEM MY DEEPEST COMPASSION WHILE
MAINTAINING MY CONVICTION THAT SOCIAL CHANGE COMES
MOST MEANINGFULLY THROUGH NON-VIOLENT ACTION. BUT
THEY ASKED--AND RIGHTLY SO--WHAT ABOUT VIET NAM?
THEY ASKED IF OUR OWN NATION WASN'T USING MASSIVE
DOSES OF VIOLENCE TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS, TO BRING

ABOUT THE CHANGES IT WANTED. THEIR QUESTIONS HIT HOME, AND I KNEW THAT I COULD NEVER AGAIN RAISE MY VOICE AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF THE OPPRESSED IN THE GHETTOS WITHOUT HAVING FIRST SPOKEN CLEARLY TO THE GREATEST PURVEYOR OF VIOLENCE IN THE WORLD TODAY--MY OWN GOVERNMENT. FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE BOYS, FOR THE SAKE OF THIS GOVERNMENT, FOR THE SAKE OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS TREMBLING UNDER OUR VIOLENCE, I CANNOT BE SILENT.

FOR THOSE WHO ASK THE QUESTION, "AREN'T YOU A CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER?" AND THEREBY MEAN TO EXCLUDE ME FROM THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE, I HAVE THIS FURTHER ANSWER. IN 1957 WHEN A GROUP OF US FORMED THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, WE CHOSE AS OUR MOTTO: "TO SAVE THE SOUL OF AMERICA."

WE WERE CONVINCED THAT WE COULD NOT LIMIT OUR
VISION TO CERTAIN RIGHTS FOR BLACK PEOPLE, BUT INSTEAD
AFFIRMED THE CONVICTION THAT AMERICA WOULD NEVER BE
FREE OR SAVED FROM ITSELF UNLESS THE DESCENDANTS OF
ITS SLAVES WERE LOOSED COMPLETELY FROM THE SHACKLES
THEY STILL WEAR. IN A WAY WE WERE AGREEING WITH
LANGSTON HUGHES, THAT BLACK BARD OF HARLEM, WHO
HAD WRITTEN EARLIER:

O, YES,

I SAY IT PLAIN,

AMERICA NEVER WAS AMERICA TO ME,

AND YET I SWEAR THIS OATH--

AMERICA WILL BE!

NOW, IT SHOULD BE INCANDESCENTLY
CLEAR THAT NO ONE WHO HAS ANY CONCERN FOR THE

INTEGRITY AND LIFE OF AMERICA TODAY CAN IGNORE THE
PRESENT WAR. IF AMERICA'S SOUL BECOMES TOTALLY

POISONED, PART OF THE AUTOPSY. MUST READ VIET NAM.

IT CAN NEVER BE SAVED SO LONG AS IT DESTROYS THE

DEEPEST HOPES OF MEN THE WORLD OVER. SO IT IS THAT

THOSE OF US WHO ARE YET DETERMINED THAT AMERICA WILL

BE ARE LEAD DOWN THE PATH OF PROTEST AND DISSENT,

WORKING FOR THE HEALTH OF OUR LAND.

AS IF THE WEIGHT OF SUCH A COMMITMENT

TO THE LIFE AND HEALTH OF AMERICA WERE NOT ENOUGH,

ANOTHER BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY WAS PLACED UPON ME

IN 1964; AND I CANNOT FORGET THAT THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR

PEACE WAS ALSO A COMMISSION--A COMMISSION TO WORK

HARDER THAN I HAD EVER WORKED BEFORE FOR "THE

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN." THIS IS A CALLING THAT TAKES

ME BEYOND NATIONAL ALLEGIANCES, BUT EVEN IF IT WERE
NOT PRESENT I WOULD YET HAVE TO LIVE WITH THE MEANING
OF MY COMMITMENT TO THE MINISTRY OF JESUS CHRIST. TO
ME THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS MINISTRY TO THE MAKING OF
PEACE IS SO OBVIOUS THAT I SOMETIMES MARVEL AT THOSE
WHO ASK ME WHY I AM SPEAKING AGAINST THE WAR. COULD IT
BE THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT THE GOOD NEWS WAS MEANT FOR
ALL MEN--FOR COMMUNIST AND CAPITALIST, FOR THEIR
CHILDREN AND OURS, FOR BLACK AND FOR WHITE, FOR
REVOLUTIONARY AND CONSERVATIVE? HAVE THEY FORGOTTEN
THAT MY MINISTRY IS IN OBEDIENCE TO THE ^{ONE} WHO LOVED
HIS ENEMIES SO FULLY THAT HE DIED FOR THEM? WHAT THEN
CAN I SAY TO THE VIET Cong OR TO CASTRO OR TO MAO AS A
FAITHFUL MINISTER OF THIS ONE? CAN I THREATEN THEM WITH
DEATH OR MUST I NOT SHARE WITH THEM MY LIFE?

FINALLY, AS I TRY TO DILINEATE FOR YOU
AND FOR MYSELF THE ROAD THAT LEADS FROM MONTGOMERY
TO THIS PLACE I WOULD HAVE OFFERED ALL THAT WAS MOST
VALID IF I SIMPLY SAID THAT I MUST BE TRUE TO MY CONVICTION
THAT I SHARE WITH ALL MEN THE CALLING TO BE A SON OF
THE LIVING GOD. BEYOND THE CALLING OF RACE OR NATION
OR CREED IS THIS VOCATION OF SONSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD,
AND BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THE FATHER IS DEEPLY CON-
CERNED ESPECIALLY FOR HIS SUFFERING AND HELPLESS
AND OUT CAST CHILDREN, I COME TONIGHT TO SPEAK FOR THEM.

THIS I BELIEVE TO BE THE PRIVILEGE AND
THE BURDEN OF ALL OF US WHO DEEM OURSELVES BOUND BY
ALLEGIANCES AND LOYALTIES WHICH ARE BROADER AND
DEEPER THAN NATIONALISM AND WHICH GO BEYOND OUR
NATION'S SELF-DEFINED GOALS AND POSITIONS. WE ARE

CALLED TO SPEAK FOR THE WEAK, FOR THE VOICELESS,
FOR THE VICTIMS OF OUR NATION AND FOR THOSE IT CALLS
ENEMY, FOR NO DOCUMENT FROM HUMAN HANDS CAN MAKE
THESE HUMANS ANY LESS OUR BROTHERS.

AND AS I PONDER THE MADNESS OF VIET NAM
AND SEARCH WITHIN MYSELF FOR WAYS TO UNDERSTAND AND
RESPOND IN COMPASSION MY MIND GOES CONSTANTLY TO THE
PEOPLE OF THAT PENINSULA. I SPEAK NOW NOT OF THE
SOLDIERS OF EACH SIDE, NOT OF THE IDEOLOGIES OF THE
LIBERATION FRONT, NOT OF THE JUNTA IN SAIGON, BUT SIMPLY
OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN LIVING UNDER THE CURSE OF
WAR FOR ALMOST THREE CONTINUOUS DECADES NOW. I THINK
OF THEM TOO BECAUSE IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT THERE WILL
BE NO MEANINGFUL SOLUTION THERE UNTIL SOME ATTEMPT IS
MADE TO KNOW THEM AND HEAR THEIR BROKEN CRIES.

THEY MUST SEE AMERICANS AS STRANGE
LIBERATORS. THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE PROCLAIMED THEIR
OWN INDEPENDENCE IN 1945 AFTER A COMBINED FRENCH AND
JAPANESE OCCUPATION, AND BEFORE THE COMMUNIST
REVOLUTION IN CHINA. THEY WERE LED BY HO CHI MINH.
EVEN THOUGH THEY QUOTED THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE IN THEIR OWN DOCUMENT OF FREEDOM, WE
REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THEM. INSTEAD, WE DECIDED TO
SUPPORT FRANCE IN ITS RE-CONQUEST OF HER FORMER COLONY.

OUR GOVERNMENT FELT THEN THAT THE
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WERE NOT "READY" FOR INDEPENDENCE,
AND WE AGAIN FELL VICTIM TO THE DEADLY WESTERN ARROGANCE
THAT HAS POISONED THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE FOR SO
LONG. WITH THAT TRAGIC DECISION WE REJECTED A
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT SEEKING SELF-DETERMINATION,

AND A GOVERNMENT THAT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED NOT BY
CHINA (FOR WHOM THE VIETNAMESE HAVE NO GREAT LOVE)
BUT BY CLEARLY INDIGENOUS FORCES THAT INCLUDED SOME
COMMUNISTS. FOR THE PEASANTS THIS NEW GOVERNMENT
MEANT REAL LAND REFORM, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
NEEDS IN THEIR LIVES.

FOR NINE YEARS FOLLOWING 1945 WE DENIED
THE PEOPLE OF VIET NAM THE RIGHT OF INDEPENDENCE. FOR
NINE YEARS WE VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED THE FRENCH IN THEIR
ABORTIVE EFFORT TO RE-COLONIZE VIET NAM.

BEFORE THE END OF THE WAR WE WERE
MEETING 80% OF THE FRENCH WAR COSTS. EVEN BEFORE THE
FRENCH WERE DEFEATED AT DIEN BIEN PHU, THEY BEGAN TO
DESPAIR OF THEIR RECKLESS ACTION, BUT WE DID NOT. WE
ENCOURAGED THEM WITH OUR HUGE FINANCIAL AND MILITARY

SUPPLIES TO CONTINUE THE WAR EVEN AFTER THEY HAD LOST THE WILL. SOON WE WOULD BE PAYING ALMOST THE FULL COSTS OF THIS TRAGIC ATTEMPT AT RE-COLONIZATION.

AFTER THE FRENCH WERE DEFEATED IT LOOKED AS IF INDEPENDENCE AND LAND REFORM WOULD COME AGAIN THROUGH THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS. BUT INSTEAD THERE CAME THE UNITED STATES, DETERMINED THAT HO SHOULD NOT UNIFY THE TEMPORARILY DIVIDED NATION, AND THE PEASANTS WATCHED AGAIN AS WE SUPPORTED ONE OF THE MOST VICIOUS MODERN DICTATORS--OUR CHOSEN MAN, PREMIER DIEM. THE PEASANTS WATCHED AND CRINGED AS DIEM RUTHLESSLY ROUTED OUT ALL OPPOSITION, SUPPORTED THEIR EXTORTIONIST LANDLORDS AND REFUSED EVEN TO DISCUSS RE-UNIFICATION WITH THE NORTH. THE PEASANTS WATCHED AS ALL THIS WAS PRESIDED OVER BY U. S. INFLUENCE AND THEN BY INCREASING

NUMBERS OF U. S. TROOPS WHO CAME TO HELP QUELL THE
INSURGENCY THAT DIEM'S METHODS HAD AROUSED. WHEN
DIEM WAS OVERTHROWN THEY MAY HAVE BEEN HAPPY, BUT
THE LONG LINE OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS SEEMED TO
OFFER NO REAL CHANGE--ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF THEIR
NEED FOR LAND AND PEACE.

THE ONLY CHANGE CAME FROM AMERICA AS
WE INCREASED OUR TROOP COMMITMENTS IN SUPPORT OF
GOVERNMENTS WHICH WERE SINGULARLY CORRUPT, INEPT AND
WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT. ALL THE WHILE THE PEOPLE
READ OUR LEAFLETS AND RECEIVED REGULAR PROMISES OF
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY--AND LAND REFORM. NOW THEY LANGUISH
UNDER OUR BOMBS AND CONSIDER US--NOT THEIR FELLOW
VIETNAMESE--THE REAL ENEMY. THEY MOVE SADLY AND
APATHETICALLY AS WE HERD THEM OFF THE LAND OF

THEIR FATHERS INTO CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHERE

MINIMAL SOCIAL NEEDS ARE RARELY MET. THEY KNOW

THEY MUST MOVE OR BE DESTROYED BY OUR BOMBS. SO

THEY GO--PRIMARILY WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND THE AGED.

THEY WATCH AS WE POISON THEIR WATER, AS

WE ^kDILL A MILLION ACRES OF THEIR CROPS. THEY MUST WEEP

AS THE BULLDOZERS ROAR THROUGH THEIR AREAS PREPARING

TO DESTROY THE PRECIOUS TREES. THEY WANDER INTO

THE HOSPITALS, WITH AT LEAST 20 CASUALTIES FROM AMERICAN

FIREPOWER FOR ONE VIETCONG-INFLICTED INJURY. SO FAR

WE MAY HAVE KILLED A MILLION OF THEM--MOSTLY CHILDREN.

THEY WANDER INTO THE TOWNS AND SEE THOUSANDS OF THE

CHILDREN, HOMELESS, WITHOUT CLOTHES, RUNNING IN PACKS

ON THE STREETS LIKE ANIMALS. THEY SEE THE CHILDREN

DEGRADED BY OUR SOLDIERS AS THEY BEG FOR FOOD. THEY

SEE THE CHILDREN SELLING THEIR SISTERS TO OUR SOLDIERS,

SOLICITING FOR THEIR MOTHERS.

WHAT DO THE PEASANTS THINK AS WE ALLY
OURSELVES WITH THE LANDLORDS AND AS WE REFUSE TO
PUT ANY ACTION INTO OUR MANY WORDS CONCERNING LAND
REFORM? WHAT DO THEY THINK AS WE TEST OUT OUR LATEST
WEAPONS ON THEM, JUST AS THE GERMANS TESTED OUT NEW
MEDICINE AND NEW TORTURES IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS
OF EUROPE? WHERE ARE THE ROOTS OF THE INDEPENDENT
VIET NAM WE CLAIM TO BE BUILDING? IS IT AMONG THESE
VOICELESS ONES?

WE HAVE DESTROYED THEIR TWO MOST
CHERISHED INSTITUTIONS: THE FAMILY AND THE VILLAGE.
WE HAVE DESTROYED THEIR LAND AND THEIR CROPS. WE
HAVE COOPERATED IN THE CRUSHING OF THE NATION'S ONLY
NON-COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL FORCE--THE

UNIFIED BUDDIST CHURCH. WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE
ENEMIES OF THE PEASANTS OF SAIGON. WE HAVE CORRUPTED
THEIR WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND KILLED THEIR MEN. WHAT
LIBERATORS!

NOW THERE IS LITTLE LEFT TO BUILD ON--
SAVE BITTERNESS. SOON THE ONLY SOLID PHYSICAL FOUNDATIONS
REMAINING WILL BE FOUND AT OUR MILITARY BASES AND IN
THE CONCRETE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WE CALL
FORTIFIED HAMLETS. THE PEASANTS MAY WELL WONDER IF
WE PLAN TO BUILD OUR NEW VIET NAM ON SUCH GROUNDS AS
THESE? COULD WE BLAME THEM FOR SUCH THOUGHTS? WE
MUST SPEAK FOR THEM AND RAISE THE QUESTIONS THEY CANNOT
RAISE. THESE TOO ARE OUR BROTHERS.

PERHAPS THE MORE DIFFICULT BUT NO LESS
NECESSARY TASK IS TO SPEAK FOR THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN
DESIGNATED AS OUR ENEMIES. WHAT OF THE NATIONAL

LIBERATION FRONT-- THAT STRANGELY ANONYMOUS GROUP
WE CALL VC OR COMMUNISTS? WHAT MUST THEY THINK OF
US IN AMERICA WHEN THEY REALIZE THAT WE PERMITTED
THE REPRESSION AND CRUELTY OF DIEM WHICH HELPED TO
BRING THEM INTO BEING AS A RESISTANCE GROUP IN THE
SOUTH? WHAT DO THEY THINK OF OUR CONDONING THE
VIOLENCE WHICH LED TO THEIR OWN TAKING UP OF ARMS?
HOW CAN THEY BELIEVE IN OUR INTEGRITY WHEN NOW WE
SPEAK OF "AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH" AS IF THERE WERE
NOTHING MORE ESSENTIAL TO THE WAR? HOW CAN THEY TRUST
US WHEN NOW WE CHARGE THEM WITH VIOLENCE AFTER THE
MURDEROUS REIGN OF DIEM, ~~AND CHARGE THEM WITH VIOLENCE~~
~~AFTER THE MURDEROUS REIGN OF DIEM,~~ AND CHARGE THEM
WITH VIOLENCE WHILE WE POUR EVERY NEW WEAPON OF
DEATH INTO THEIR LAND? SURELY WE MUST UNDERSTAND THEIR

FEELINGS EVEN IF WE DO NOT CONDONE THEIR ACTIONS.

SURELY WE MUST SEE THAT THE MEN WE SUPPORTED PRESSED THEM TO THEIR VIOLENCE. SURELY WE MUST SEE THAT OUR OWN COMPUTERIZED PLANS OF DESTRUCTION SIMPLY DWARF THEIR GREATEST ACTS.

HOW DO THEY JUDGE US WHEN OUR OFFICIALS KNOW THAT THEIR MEMBERSHIP IS LESS THAN 25 PER CENT COMMUNIST AND YET INSIST ON GIVING THEM THE BLANKET NAME? WHAT MUST THEY BE THINKING WHEN THEY KNOW THAT WE ARE AWARE OF THEIR CONTROL OF MAJOR SECTIONS OF VIET NAM AND YET WE APPEAR READY TO ALLOW NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN WHICH THIS HIGHLY ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARALLEL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE NO PART? THEY ASK HOW WE CAN SPEAK OF FREE ELECTIONS WHEN THE SAIGON PRESS IS CENSORED AND CONTROLLED BY THE MILITARY JUNTA. AND THEY ARE SURELY RIGHT TO WONDER WHAT KIND OF NEW

GOVERNMENT WE PLAN TO HELP FORM WITHOUT THEM--

THE ONLY PARTY IN REAL TOUCH WITH THE PEASANTS. THEY
QUESTION OUR POLITICAL GOALS AND THEY DENY THE REALITY
OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT FROM WHICH THEY WILL BE
EXCLUDED. THEIR QUESTIONS ARE FRIGHEENINGLY RELEVANT.
IS OUR NATION PLANNING TO BUILD ON POLITICAL MYTH AGAIN
AND THEN SHORE IT UP WITH THE POWER OF NEW VIOLENCE?

HERE IS THE TRUE MEANING AND VALUE OF
COMPASSION AND NON-VIOLENCE WHEN IT HELPS US TO SEE
THE ENEMY'S POINT OF VIEW, TO HEAR HIS QUESTIONS, TO KNOW
HIS ASSESSMENT OF OURSELVES. FOR FROM HIS VIEW WE MAY
INDEED SEE THE BASIC WEAKNESSES OF OUR OWN CONDITION,
AND IF WE ARE MATURE, WE MAY LEARN AND GROW AND PROFIT
FROM THE WISDOM OF THE BROTHERS WHO ARE CALLED THE
OPPOSITION.

SO, TOO, WITH HANOI. IN THE NORTH, WHERE

OUR BOMBS NOW PUMMEL THE LAND, AND OUR MINES
ENDANGER THE WATERWAYS, WE ARE MET BY A DEEP BUT
UNDERSTANDABLE MISTRUST. TO SPEAK FOR THEM IS TO
EXPLAIN THIS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN WESTERN WORDS, AND
ESPECIALLY THEIR DISTRUST OF AMERICAN INTENTIONS NOW.
IN HANOI ARE THE MEN WHO LED THE NATION TO INDEPENDENCE
AGAINST THE JAPANESE AND THE FRENCH, ~~THE MEN WHO LED~~
~~THE NATION TO INDEPENDENCE AGAINST THE JAPANESE AND~~
~~THE FRENCH~~, THE MEN WHO SOUGHT MEMBERSHIP IN THE
FRENCH COMMONWEALTH AND WERE BETRAYED BY THE
WEAKNESS OF PARIS AND THE WILFULNESS OF THE COLONIAL
ARMIES. IT WAS THEY WHO LED A SECOND STRUGGLE AGAINST
FRENCH DOMINATION AT TREMENDOUS COSTS, AND THEN
WERE PERSUADED TO GIVE UP THE LAND THEY CONTROLLED
BETWEEN THE 13th AND 17th PARALLEL AS A TEMPORARY
MEASURE AT GENEVA. AFTER 1954 THEY WATCHED US
CONSPIRE WITH DIEM TO PREVENT ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD

HAVE SURELY BROUGHT HO CHI MINH TO POWER OVER A UNITED VIET NAM, AND THEY REALIZED THEY HAD BEEN BETRAYED AGAIN.

WHEN WE ASK WHY THEY DO NOT LEAP TO NEGOTIATE THESE THINGS MUST BE REMEMBERED. ALSO IT MUST BE CLEAR THAT THE LEADERS OF HANOI CONSIDERED THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN SUPPORT OF THE DIEM REGIME TO HAVE BEEN THE INITIAL MILITARY BREACH OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS CONCERNING FOREIGN TROOPS, AND THEY REMIND US THAT THEY DID NOT BEGIN TO SEND IN ANY LARGE NUMBER OF SUPPLIES OR MEN UNTIL AMERICAN FORCES HAD MOVED INTO THE TENS OF THOUSANDS.

HANOI REMEMBERS HOW OUR LEADERS REFUSED TO TELL US THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EARLIER NORTH VIETNAMESE OVERTURES FOR PEACE, HOW THE PIE DIDN'T

CLAIMED THAT NONE EXISTED WHEN THEY HAD CLEARLY
BEEN MADE. HO CHI MINH HAS WATCHED AS AMERICA HAS
SPOKEN OF PEACE AND BUILT UP ITS FORCES, AND NOW HE
HAS SURELY HEARD THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL RUMORS
OF AMERICAN PLANS FOR AN INVASION OF THE NORTH. HE
KNOWS THE BOMBING AND SHELLING AND MINING WE ARE DOING
ARE PART OF TRADITIONAL PRE-INVASION STRATEGY. PERHAPS
ONLY HIS SENSE OF HUMOR AND OF IRONY CAN SAVE HIM WHEN
HE HEARS THE MOST POWERFUL NATION OF THE WORLD
SPEAKING OF AGGRESSION AS IT DROPS THOUSANDS OF BOMBS
ON A POOR WEAK NATION MORE THAN 8,000 MILES AWAY FROM
ITS SHORES.

~~AT THIS POINT SHOULD HAVE BEEN CLEAR~~
~~THAT WHILE I HAVE TRIED IN THESE LAST FEW MINUTES TO~~
~~GIVE A VOICE TO THE VOICELESS ON VIETNAM AND TO~~

AT THIS POINT I SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE I HAVE TRIED IN THESE LAST FEW MINUTES TO GIVE A VOICE TO THE VOICELESS ON VIETNAM AND TO UNDERSTAND THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO ARE CALLED ENEMY, I AM AS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT OUR OWN TROOPS THERE AS ANYTHING ELSE. FOR IT OCCURS TO ME THAT WHAT WE ARE SUBMITTING THEM TO IN VIETNAM IS NOT SIMPLY THE BRUTALIZED PROCESS THAT GOES ON IN ANY WAR WHERE ARMIES FACE EACH OTHER AND SEEK TO DESTROY. WE ARE ADDING CYNICISM TO THE PROCESS OF DEATH, FOR THEY MUST KNOW AFTER A SHORT PERIOD THERE THAT NONE OF THE THINGS WE CLAIM TO BE FIGHTING FOR ARE REALLY INVOLVED. BEFORE LONG THEY MUST KNOW THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT HAS SENT THEM INTO A STRUGGLE AMONG VIETNAMESE, AND THE MORE SOPHISTICATED SURELY REALIZE THAT WE ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE WEALTHY AND THE SECURE WHILE WE CREATE A HELL FOR THE POOR.

SOMEHOW THIS MADNESS MUST CEASE. WE MUST STOP NOW. I SPEAK AS A CHILD OF GOD AND BROTHER TO THE SUFFERING POOR OF VIETNAM. I SPEAK FOR THOSE WHOSE LAND IS BEING LAID WASTE, WHOSE HOMES ARE BEING DESTROYED, WHOSE CULTURE IS BEING SUBVERTED. I SPEAK FOR THE POOR OF AMERICA WHO ARE PAYING THE DOUBLE PRICE OF SMASHED HOPES AT HOME AND DEATH AND CORRUPTION IN VIETNAM. I SPEAK AS A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD, FOR THE WORLD AS IT STANDS AGHAST AT THE PATH WE HAVE TAKEN. I SPEAK AS AN AMERICAN TO THE LEADERS OF MY OWN NATION. THE GREAT INITIATIVE IN THIS WAR IS OURS. THE INITIATIVE TO STOP IT MUST BE OURS.

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF THE GREAT BUDDHIST LEADERS

OF VIETNAM. ESPECIALLY ONE OF THEM WROTE THESE WORDS:
"EACH DAY THE WAR GIVES ON THE HATED INCREASES IN THE
HEART OF THE VIETNAMESE AND IN THE HEARTS OF THOSE OF
HUMANITARIAN INCLINATION. THE AMERICANS ARE FORCING EVEN
THEIR FRIENDS INTO BECOMING THEIR ENEMIES. IT IS CURIOUS
THAT THE AMERICANS, WHO CALCULATE SO CAREFULLY ON THE
POSSIBILITIES OF MILITARY VICTORY, DO NOT REALIZE THAT IN
THE PROCESS THEY ARE INCURRING DEEP PSYCHOLOGICAL AND
POLITICAL DEFEAT. THE IMAGE OF AMERICA WILL NEVER AGAIN
BE THE IMAGE OF REVOLUTION, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, BUT THE
IMAGE OF VIOLENCE AND MILITARISM."

IF WE CONTINUE THERE WILL BE NO DOUBT IN MY
MIND AND IN THE MIND OF THE WORLD THAT WE HAVE NO HONORABLE
INTENTIONS IN VIETNAM. IT WILL BECOME CLEAR THAT OUR MINIMAL
EXPECTATION IS TO OCCUPY IT AS AN AMERICAN COLONY AND MEN
WILL NOT REFRAIN FROM THINKING THAT OUR MAXIMUM HOPE IS TO
GOAD CHINA INTO A WAR SO THAT WE MAY BOMB HER NUCLEAR
INSTALLATIONS. IF WE DO NOT STOP OUR WAR AGAINST THE
PEOPLE OF VIETNAM IMMEDIATELY THE WORLD WILL BE LEFT WITH
NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE THAN TO SEE THIS AS SOME HORRIBLY
CLUNSY AND DEADLY GAME WE HAVE DECIDED TO PLAY.

THE WORLD NOW DEMANDS A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS
THAT WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE. IT DEMANDS THAT WE

ADMIT THAT WE HAVE BEEN WRONG FROM THE BEGINNING OF OUR ADVENTURE IN VIETNAM, THAT WE HAVE BEEN DETRIMENTAL TO THE LIFE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. THE SITUATION IS ONE IN WHICH WE MUST BE READY TO TURN SHARPLY FROM OUR PRESENT WAYS.

IN ORDER TO ATONE FOR OUR SINS AND ERRORS IN VIETNAM, WE SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN BRINGING A HALT TO THIS TRAGIC WAR. I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST FIVE CONCRETE THINGS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO IMMEDIATELY TO BEGIN THE LONG AND DIFFICULT PROCESS OF EXTRICATING OURSELVES FROM THIS NIGHTMARISH CONFLICT:

1. END ALL BOMBING IN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM.
2. DECLARE A UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE IN THE HOPE THAT SUCH ACTION WILL CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATION.
3. TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO PREVENT OTHER BATTLEFIELDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BY CURTAILING OUR MILITARY BUILD-UP IN THAILAND AND OUR INTERFERENCE IN LAOS.
4. REALISTICALLY ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT HAS SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND MUST THEREBY PLAY A ROLE IN ANY MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND IN ANY FUTURE VIETNAM GOVERNMENT.
5. SET A DATE THAT WE WILL REMOVE ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT.

PART OF OUR ONGOING COMMITMENT MIGHT WELL EXPRESS ITSELF IN AN OFFER TO GRANT ASYLUM TO ANY VIETNAMESE WHO FEARS FOR HIS LIFE UNDER A NEW REGIME WHICH INCLUDED THE LIBERATION FRONT. THEN WE MUST MAKE WHAT REPARATIONS WE CAN FOR THE DAMAGE WE HAVE DONE. WE MUST PROVIDE THE MEDICAL AID THAT IS BADLY NEEDED, MAKING IT AVAILABLE IN THIS COUNTRY IF NECESSARY.

MEANWHILE WE IN THE CHURCHES AND SYNAGOGUES HAVE A CONTINUING TASK WHILE WE URGE OUR GOVERNMENT TO DISENGAGE ITSELF FROM A DISGRACEFUL COMMITMENT. WE MUST CONTINUE TO RAISE OUR VOICES AND OUR LIVES IF OUR NATION PERSISTS IN ITS PERVERSE WAYS IN VIETNAM. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MATCH ACTIONS WITH WORDS BY SEEKING OUT EVERY CREATIVE MEANS OF PROTEST POSSIBLE.

AS WE COUNSEL YOUNG MEN CONCERNING MILITARY SERVICE WE MUST CLARIFY FOR THEM OUR NATION'S ROLE IN VIETNAM AND CHALLENGE THEM WITH THE ALTERNATIVE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. I AM PLEASED TO SAY THAT THIS IS THE PATH NOW BEING CHOSEN BY MORE THAN SEVENTY STUDENTS AT MY OWN ALMA MATER, MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, AND I RECOMMEND IT TO ALL WHO FIND THE AMERICAN COURSE IN VIETNAM A DISHONOURABLE AND UNJUST ONE. MOREOVER I WOULD ENCOURAGE ALL MINISTERS OF DRAFT AGE TO GIVE UP THEIR MINISTERIAL

EXEMPTIONS AND SEEK STATUS AS CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS. THESE ARE THE TIMES FOR REAL CHOICES AND NOT FALSE ONES. WE ARE AT THE MOMENT WHEN OUR LIVES MUST BE PLACED ON THE LINE IF OUR NATION IS TO SURVIVE ITS OWN FOLLY. EVERY MAN OF HUMANE CONVICTIONS MUST DECIDE ON THE PROTEST THAT BEST SUITS HIS CONVICTIONS, BUT WE MUST ALL PROTEST.

THERE IS SOMETHING SEDUCTIVELY TEMPTING ABOUT STOPPING THERE AND SENDING US ALL OFF ON WHAT IN SOME CIRCLES HAS BECOME A POPULAR CRUSADE AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. I SAY WE MUST ENTER THAT STRUGGLE, BUT I WISH TO GO ON NOW TO SAY SOMETHING EVEN MORE DISTURBING. THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS BUT A SYMPTOM OF A FAR DEEPER MALADY WITHIN THE AMERICAN SPIRIT, AND IF WE IGNORE THIS SOBERING REALITY WE WILL FIND OURSELVES ORGANIZING CLERGY AND LAYMEN CONCERNED COMMITTEES FOR THE NEXT GENERATION. THEY WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT GUATAMALA AND PERU. THEY WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT THAILAND AND CAMBODIA. THEY WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTH AFRICA. WE WILL BE MARCHING FOR THESE AND A DOZEN OTHER NAMES AND ATTENDING RALLIES WITHOUT END UNLESS THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT AND PROFOUND CHANGE IN AMERICAN LIFE AND POLICY. SUCH THOUGHTS TAKE US BEYOND VIETNAM, BUT NOT BEYOND OUR CALLING AS SONS OF THE LIVING GOD.

IN 1957 A SENSITIVE AMERICAN OFFICIAL OVERSEAS

SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT OUR NATION WAS ON THE WRONG SIDE OF A WORLD REVOLUTION. DURING THE PAST 10 YEARS WE HAVE SEEN EMERGE A PATTERN OF SUPPRESSION WHICH NOW HAS JUSTIFIED THE PRESENCE OF U.S. MILITARY "ADVISORS" IN VENEZUALA. THIS NEED TO MAINTAIN SOCIAL STABILITY FOR OUR INVESTMENTS ACCOUNTS FOR THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF AMERICAN FORCES IN GUATEMALA. IT TELLS WHY AMERICAN HELICOPTERS ARE BEING USED AGAINST GUERILLAS IN COLOMBIA AND WHY AMERICAN NAPAIM AND GREEN BERET FORCES HAVE ALREADY BEEN ACTIVE AGAINST REBELS IN PERU. IT IS WITH SUCH ACTIVITY IN MIND THAT THE WORDS OF THE LATE JOHN F. KENNEDY COME BACK TO HAUNT US. FIVE YEARS AGO HE SAID, "THOSE WHO MAKE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IMPOSSIBLE WILL MAKE VIOLENT REVOLUTION INEVITABLE."

INCREASINGLY, BY CHOICE OR BY ACCIDENT, THIS IS THE ROLE OUR NATION HAS TAKEN--THE ROLE OF THOSE WHO MAKE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IMPOSSIBLE BY REFUSING TO GIVE UP THE PRIVILEGES AND THE PLEASURES THAT COME FROM THE IMMENSE PROFITS OF OVERSEAS INVESTMENT.

A TRUE REVOLUTION OF VALUE WILL SOON CAUSE US TO QUESTION THE FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE OF MANY OF OUR PAST AND PRESENT POLICIES. ON THE ONE HAND WE ARE CALLED TO PLAY THE GOOD SAMARITAN ON LIFE'S ROADSIDE; BUT THAT WILL BE ONLY AN INITIAL ACT. ONE DAY WE MUST COME TO SEE THAT

THE WHOLE JERICO ROAD MUST BE TRANSFORMED SO THAT MEN AND WOMEN WILL NOT BE CONSTANTLY BEATEN AND ROBBED AS THEY MAKE THEIR JOURNEY ON LIFE'S HIGHWAY. TRUE COMPASSION IS MORE THAN FLINGING A COIN TO A BEGGAR; IT IS NOT HAPHAZARD AND SUPERFICIAL. IT COMES TO SEE THAT AN EDIFICE WHICH PRODUCES BEGGARS NEEDS RE-STRUCTURING. A TRUE REVOLUTION OF VALUES WILL SOON LOOK UNEASILY ON THE GLARING CONTRAST OF POVERTY AND WEALTH. WITH RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION, IT WILL LOOK ACROSS THE SEAS AND SEE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALISTS OF THE WEST INVESTING HUGE SUMS OF MONEY IN ASIA, AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA, ONLY TO TAKE THE PROFITS OUT WITH NO CONCERN FOR THE SOCIAL BETTERMENT OF THE COUNTRIES, AND SAY: "THIS IS NOT JUST." IT WILL LOOK AT OUR ALLIANCE WITH THE LANDED GENTRY OF LATIN AMERICA AND SAY: "THIS IS NOT JUST." THE WESTERN ARROGANCE OF FEELING THAT IT HAS EVERYTHING TO TEACH OTHERS AND NOTHING TO LEARN FROM THEM IS NOT JUST. A TRUE REVOLUTION OF VALUES WILL LAY HANDS ON THE WORLD ORDER AND SAY OF WAR: "THIS WAY OF SETTLING DIFFERENCES IS NOT JUST." THIS BUSINESS OF BURNING HUMAN BEINGS WITH NAPALM, OF FILLING OUR NATION'S homes with orphans and widows, OF INJECTING POISONOUS DRUGS OF HATE INTO THE VEINS OF PEOPLES NORMALLY HUMANE, OF SENDING MEN HOME FROM DARK AND BLOODY BATTLEFIELDS PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY

DERANGED, CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH WISDOM, JUSTICE, AND LOVE. A NATION THAT CONTINUES YEAR AFTER YEAR TO SPEND MORE MONEY ON MILITARY DEFENSE THAN ON PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL UPLIFT IS APPROACHING SPIRITUAL DEATH.

AMERICA, THE RICHEST AND MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD, CAN WELL LEAD THE WAY IN THIS REVOLUTION OF VALUES. THERE IS NOTHING, EXCEPT A TRAGIC DEATH WISH, TO PREVENT US FROM RE-ORDERING OUR PRIORITIES, SO THAT THE PURSUIT OF PEACE WILL TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE PURSUIT OF WAR. THERE IS NOTHING TO KEEP US FROM MOLDING A RECALCITRANT STATUS-QUO WITH BRUISED HANDS UNTIL WE HAVE FASHIONED IT INTO A BROTHERHOOD.

THIS KIND OF POSITIVE REVOLUTION OF VALUES IS OUR BEST DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM. WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER. COMMUNISM WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED BY THE USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS OR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. LET US NOT JOIN THOSE WHO SHOUT WAR AND THROUGH THEIR MISGUIDED PASSIONS URGE THE UNITED STATES TO RELINQUISH ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS. THESE ARE DAYS WHICH DEMAND WISE RESTRAINT AND CALM REASONABLENESS. WE MUST NOT CALL EVERYONE A COMMUNIST OR AN APPEASER WHO ADVOCATES THE SEATING OF RED CHINA IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHO RECOGNIZES THAT HATE AND HYSTERIA ARE NOT THE FINAL ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEM OF THOSE TURBULENT DAYS. WE MUST NOT ENGAGE IN A NEGATIVE

ANTI-COMMUNISM, BUT RATHER IN A POSITIVE THRUST FOR DEMOCRACY, REALISING THAT OUR GREATEST DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM IS TO TAKE OFFENSIVE ACTION IN BEHALF OF JUSTICE. WE MUST WITH POSITIVE ACTION SEEK TO REMOVE THOSE CONDITIONS OF POVERTY, INSECURITY AND INJUSTICE WHICH ARE THE FERTILE SOIL IN WHICH THE SEED OF COMMUNISM GROWS AND DEVELOPS..

THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY TIMES. ALL OVER THE GLOBE MEN ARE REVOLTING AGAINST OLD SYSTEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION AND OUT OF THE WOMBS OF A FRAIL WORLD NEW SYSTEMS OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY ARE BEING BORN. THE SHIRTLESS AND BAREFOOT PEOPLE OF THE LAND ARE RISING UP AS NEVER BEFORE. "THE PEOPLE WHO SAT IN DARKNESS HAVE SEEN A GREAT LIGHT." WE IN THE WEST MUST SUPPORT THESE REVOLUTIONS. IT IS A SAD FACT THAT, BECAUSE OF COMFORT, COMPLACENCY, A MORBID FEAR OF COMMUNISM, AND OUR PRONENESS TO ADJUST TO INJUSTICE, THE WESTERN NATIONS THAT INITIATED SO MUCH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE MODERN WORLD HAVE NOW BECOME THE ARCH ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES. THIS HAS DRIVEN MANY TO FEEL THAT ONLY MARXISM HAS THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT. THEREFORE, COMMUNISM IS A JUDGMENT AGAINST OUR FAILURE TO MAKE DEMOCRACY REAL AND FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE REVOLUTIONS THAT WE INITIATED. OUR ONLY HOPE TODAY LIES IN OUR ABILITY TO RECAPTURE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AND GO OUT INTO A SOMETIMES HOSTILE WORLD DECLARING ETERNAL

HOSTILITY TO POVERTY, RACISM, AND MILITARISM. WITH THIS POWERFUL COMMITMENT WE SHALL BOLDLY CHALLENGE THE STATUS QUO AND UNJUST MORES AND THEREBY SPEED THE DAY WHEN "EVERY VALLEY SHALL BE EXALTED, AND EVERY MOUNTAIN AND HILL SHALL BE MADE LOW;" AND THE CROOKED SHALL BE MADE STRAIGHT AND THE ROUGH PLACES PLAIN."

A GENUINE REVOLUTION OF VALUES MEANS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THAT OUR LOYALTIES MUST BECOME ECUMENICAL RATHER THAN SECTIONAL. EVERY NATION MUST NOW DEVELOP AN OVERRIDING LOYALTY TO MANKIND AS A WHOLE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE BEST IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL SOCIETIES.

THIS CALL FOR A WORLDWIDE FELLOWSHIP THAT LIFTS NEIGHBORLY CONCERN BEYOND ONE'S TRIBE, RACE, CLASS AND NATION IS IN REALITY A CALL FOR AN ALL-EMBRACING AND UNCONDITIONAL LOVE FOR ALL MEN. THIS OFT MISUNDERSTOOD AND MISINTERPRETED CONCEPT SO READILY DISMISSED BY THE NIETZSCHES OF THE WORLD AS A WEAK AND COWARDLY FORCE-- HAS NOW BECOME AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MAN. WHEN I SPEAK OF LOVE I AM NOT SPEAKING OF SOME SENTIMENTAL AND WEAK RESPONSE. I AM SPEAKING OF THAT FORCE WHICH ALL OF THE GREAT RELIGIONS HAVE SEEN AS THE SUPREME UNIFYING PRINCIPLE OF LIFE. LOVE IS SOMEHOW THE KEY THAT UNLOCKS THE DOOR WHICH LEADS TO ULTIMATE REALITY.

THIS HINDU-MOSLEM-CHRISTIAN-JEWISH-BUDDHIST BELIEF ABOUT
UP
ULTIMATE REALITY IS BEAUTIFULLY SUMMED/IN THE FIRST EPISTLE
OF SAINT JOHN:

LET US LOVE ONE ANOTHER; FOR LOVE IS
GOD AND EVERYONE THAT LOVETH IS BORN OF
GOD AND KNOWETH GOD. HE THAT LOVETH NOT
KNOWETH NOT GOD; FOR GOD IS LOVE. IF
WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, GOD DWELLETH IN US,
AND HIS LOVE IS PERFECTED IN US.

LET US HOPE THAT THIS SPIRIT WILL BECOME THE
ORDER OF THE DAY. AGAIN WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO
WORSHIP THE GOD OF HATE OR BOW BEFORE THE ALTAR OF
RETALIATION. THE OCEANS OF HISTORY ARE MADE TURBULENT BY
THE EVERRISING TIDES OF HATE. HISTORY IS CLUTTERED WITH
THE WRECKAGE OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS THAT PURSUED THIS
SELF-DEFEATING PATH OF HATE. AS ARNOLD TOYNBEE SAYS:
"LOVE IS THE ULTIMATE FORCE THAT MAKES FOR THE SAVING
CHOICE OF LIFE AND GOOD AGAINST THE DAMNING CHOICE OF
DEATH AND EVIL. THEREFORE THE FIRST HOPE IN OUR INVENTORY
MUST BE THE HOPE THAT LOVE IS GOING TO HAVE THE LAST WORD."

WE ARE NOW FACED WITH THE FACT THAT TOMORROW
IS TODAY. WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE FIERCE URGENCY OF
NOW. IN THIS UNFOLDING CONUNDRUM OF LIFE AND HISTORY

THERE IS SUCH A THING AS BEING TOO LATE. PROCRASTINATION IS STILL THE THIEF OF TIME. LIFE OFTEN LEAVES US STANDING BARE, NAKED AND DEJECTED WITH A LOST OPPORTUNITY. THE "TIDE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN" DOES NOT REMAIN AT THE FLOOD; IT EBBS. WE MAY CRY OUT DESPERATELY FOR TIME TO PAUSE IN HER PASSAGE, BUT TIME IS DEAF TO EVERY PLEA AND RUSHES ON. OVER THE BLEACHED BONES AND JUMBLED RESIDUE OF NUMEROUS CIVILIZATIONS ARE WRITTEN THE PATHETIC WORDS: "TOO LATE." THERE IS AN INVISIBLE BOOK OF LIFE THAT FAITHFULLY RECORDS OUR VIGILANCE OR OUR NEGLECT. "THE MOVING FINGER WRITES, AND HAVING WRIT MOVES ON...." WE STILL HAVE A CHOICE TODAY: NON-VIOLENT CO-EXISTENCE OR VIOLENT CO-ANNIHILATION.

WE MUST MOVE PAST INDECISION TO ACTION. WE MUST FIND NEW WAYS TO SPEAK FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE DEVELOPING WORLD--A WORLD THAT BORDERS ON OUR DOORS. IF WE DO NOT ACT WE SHALL SURELY BE DRAGGED DOWN THE LONG DARK AND SHAMEFUL CORRIDORS OF TIME RESERVED FOR THOSE WHO POSSESS POWER WITHOUT COMPASSION, MIGHT WITHOUT MORALITY, AND STRENGTH WITHOUT SIGHT.

NOW LET US BEGIN. NOW LET US REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE LONG AND BITTER--BUT BEAUTIFUL--STRUGGLE FOR A NEW WORLD. THIS IS THE CALLING OF THE SONS OF GOD, AND OUR BROTHERS WAIT EAGERLY FOR OUR RESPONSE. SHALL WE

SAY THE ODDS ARE TOO GREAT? SHALL WE TELL THEM THE STRUGGLE IS TOO HARD? WILL OUR MESSAGE BE THAT THE FORCES OF AMERICAN LIFE MILITATE AGAINST THEIR ARRIVAL AS FULL MEN, AND WE SEND OUR DEEPEST REGRETS? OR WILL THEIR BE ANOTHER MESSAGE, OF LONGING OF HOPE, OF SOLIDARITY WITH THEIR YEARNINGS, OF COMMITMENT TO THEIR CAUSE, WHATEVER THE COST? THE CHOICE IS OURS, AND THOUGH WE MIGHT PREFER IT OTHERWISE WE MUST CHOOSE IN THIS CRUCIAL MOMENT OF HUMAN HISTORY.

AS THAT NOBLE LARD OF YESTERDAY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL ELOQUENTLY STATED:

ONCE TO EVERY NATION

1. ONCE TO EVERY MAN AND NATION,
COMES THE MOMENT TO DECIDE
IN THE STRIFE OF TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD
FOR THE GOOD OR EVIL SIDE;
SOME GREAT CAUSE GOD'S NEW MESSIAH
OFFERING EACH THE GLOOM OR BLIGHT
AND THE CHOICE GOES BY FOREVER
TWIXT THAT DARKNESS AND THAT LIGHT.

4. THOUGH THE CAUSE OF EVIL PROSPER
YET 'TIS TRUTH ALONE IS STRONG
THOUGH HER PORTION BE THE SCAFFOLD
AND UPON THE THRONE BE WRONG
YET THAT SCAFFOLD SWAYS THE FUTURE
AND BEHIND THE DIM UNKNOWN
STANDETH GOD WITHIN THE SHADOW
KEEPING WATCH ABOVE HIS OWN.

FBI

Date: 4/11/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: COMINFIL - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
IS-C
(Bufile: 100-438794)
(Chicago: 105-16238)

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RM
(Chicago: 157-1261)

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
(SMC)
IS-C
(Bufile: 100-446761)
(Chicago: 100-43468)

CARBON COPY

- 9 - Bureau (Enc. 17) (RM)
1 - (100-440855) (CORE)
1 - (100-439190) (SNCC)
1 - (100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - (100-438315) (VIDEM)
4 - Atlanta (Enc. 4) (RM)
1 - (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
6 - New York
1 - (100- MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - (100- VIDEM)
1 - (100 - SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR
IN VIETNAM)
1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - (100- STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE)
2 - Chicago
1 - (157-413)
1 - (100-47217) (VIDEM)
1 - (100-35356) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1 - (100-11329) (CORE)
1 - (100-40342) (SNCC)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY MLK

DATE 4-27-77 12-10-79

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5180 RCB/Edm

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2.2

DATE OF REVIEW 4-11-87

NOT RECORDED

203 APR 19 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-112000-1897

ENCLOSURE

55 APR 1967

Approver

JCS/mar

sent

M

Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 157-413

[REDACTED] b(1)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 17 copies of an LHM concerning captioned matters. Copies are being designated for Atlanta, New York, and San Francisco as noted below for the information of these offices.

Chicago is following and pertinent developments concerning captioned matters will be appropriately provided the Bureau and any interested offices.

Concerning CARL VANKAST referred to herein, Chicago indices reflect he is apparently identical to CARL VAN KAST, a white male, residence 5134 West Deming Place, Chicago. VAN KAST is adult literary instructor at Chicago Teachers College North, 5500 North St. Louis and in November, 1966 was working in behalf of the CFM in connection with realty testing program to check compliance with the provisions of the August, 1966, summit agreement ending the open housing marches. There are no subversive references to VAN KAST.

[REDACTED] b(1)

There are no pertinent subversive characterizations as such available in Chicago for the above individuals.

The character for the SCLC in enclosed is being carried as RM as this is deemed more suitable to the nature of the contents.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

April 11, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
(SCLC)
RACIAL MATTER

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
RACIAL MATTER

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
(SMC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum of March 28, 1967 under the captions of Martin Luther King, Jr., Racial Matter and Demonstrations, Chicago Freedom Movement, (CFM) - Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Chicago, Illinois, Racial Matter. Reference is also made to Chicago memorandum of March 10, 1967, submitted under the CFM - SCLC caption, together with SCLC, Racial Matter.

[REDACTED]

b(1)
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY
DATE 12/10/11

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11-27-19
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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-11-87

ENCLOSURE

100-106670-

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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE (SMC)

[REDACTED] b(1)
e

[REDACTED] b(1)
c

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum of March 10, 1967, which reflected that Meridith Gilbert of the Lawndale Union to End Slums (LUES) a part of the CFM, and an SCLC staff worker, was subject of eviction proceedings by the landlord 3491 North Elston Avenue, Chicago, which is an all white neighborhood into which Gilbert had moved, on March 1, 1967.

The "Chicago Tribune" a daily newspaper in Chicago, edition of March 30, 1967, reflected that on March 29, 1967, Judge Charles Horan, Housing Court, Chicago, had ordered Gilbert to move from 3491 North Elston within 10 days. Judge Horan found Gilbert to have originally rented this apartment under subterfuge in that a white male, identified as Carl Van Kast, had rented this apartment using Gilbert's name. Gilbert had been released on bond but was to appear in Felony Court, Chicago, April 6, 1967 under another complaint of the landlord concerning damage to the property at 3491 North Elston.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) CC

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE (SMC)

The "Chicago Sun-Times", a daily Chicago newspaper, edition of April 7, 1967, reflects that on April 6, 1967, Gilbert had appeared in Felony Court, Chicago, and was fined \$30000 for breaking into the apartment at 3491 North Elston, March 3, 1967. Gilbert refused to pay this fine and was remanded to Cook County Jail, Chicago, to work off this fine at \$5.00 a day.

[REDACTED] b(1)

[REDACTED] b(1)

Copies of this memorandum are being provided to Secret Service and the Office of the United States Attorney, both Chicago, and to Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY... SP4 JAM/lu
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR... 4-11-82
DECLASSIFICATION... 6076

~~SECRET~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
54688
80514
7358

~~SECRET~~

Date: 4/11/67

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Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
(100-438794)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)
(100-149194)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7/23/79

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
IS - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

b(2) b(7)(D) Enclosed are 11 copies of an LHM reporting
information from [redacted], a source close to STANLEY LEVISON.
Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

- b(1)
- 7-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (VIDEM)
 - 2-Atlanta (100-5586) (Encls. 2) (RM)
(1 - 100-5718)
 - 8-New York
(1 - 100-111180) (LEVISON) (43)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL) (43)
(1 - 100-154917) (SMC) (42)
(1 - 100-154786) (VIDEM) (42)
(1 - 100-153735) (CIRM) (43)
(1 - 100-156667) (CLERGY AND LAYMEN CONCERNED)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 11/16/77

REC-8 100-106670-288

9 APR 12 1967

RM:pan
(18)

ENCLOSURE

Approved

E. C. Wick

62 APR 18 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

Classified by 6050 JED/100
Exempt from GDS Category 7

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN
100-438794

Info sent to [redacted]
let 4/19/67

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 12/10/79

CLASS & EXT BY SP4 JAM/lu
REASON-FORM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 9-11-87

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

April 11, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *MLK*
DATE *12/10/79*

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

Communist Infiltration of the
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)
Internal Security - C

~~SECRET~~

1-2-81
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4JRM/ML*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *2*
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION *4-11-9*
60

On April 8, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Harry Wachtel and Stanley Levison, New York advisors to Martin Luther King, Jr., were in conference concerning King's position on Vietnam. Levison felt that a question and answer pamphlet taken from King's speeches is needed in order to clarify King's position and to give a cohesive logical exposition of this position.

This source advised on April 8, 1967, that Levison and King were in contact on that date. Levison indicated that King's speech of April 4, 1967 was not good in that it attempted to cover too much ground, was not well thought out, was unbalanced and that it would not appeal to the average person. King answered that although he did not write the speech, he concurred with it and did not believe that he would change it, even now that he had been criticized for it by the "New York Times" and "Washington Post". King feels that he had a duty to make the speech in order to fulfill his role as a "morally wise man".

Levison suggested a full page advertisement in the "New York Times", Sunday edition, in order to clarify King's position and to answer King's enemies and critics. King felt that this was an excellent idea.

Classified by *10080 Led/rp*
Exempt from GDS Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/5/77*

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~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

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REASON-FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *4-11-9*

ENCLOSURE

100-106670 2884

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.;
Communist Infiltration of the
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)

On April 9, 1967, this source advised that Harry Wachtel and Stanley Levison were in contact concerning Martin Luther King's speech to be delivered April 15, 1967, in New York City. This speech will combine both King's speech in Los Angeles and his speech of April 4, 1967, at New York City and will be written by Wachtel and Levison on Monday, April 10, 1967.


This source advised that Wachtel, Levison and King were in conference on April 9, 1967, concerning King's position on the Vietnam situation. All agreed to the issuance of a question and answer pamphlet entitled "Dr. King Speaks on the War in Vietnam" or something similar. In addition, a full page advertisement will be run in the "New York Times". These will make the points that King does not consider this a racist war and that civil rights gains can be made while the war is going on.

Wachtel asked King if he would like to be chairman or co-chairman of a group called Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. King stated he would be delighted even though he may not be able to donate full time to the organization. Wachtel and Levison also urged King to contemplate seeking an audience with the Pope. Toward this end, Levison urged King to begin corresponding with the Pope. King inquired as to whether it would be advisable for him to introduce Cassius Clay at the rally on April 15, 1967. Levison stated that this would not be a good idea and counseled against it. U.S.


~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~


Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u



A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto. u



c



c

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr. is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC. u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild: u

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.) u
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.) u
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)" u

~~SECRET~~

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April 11, 1967

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

The President has expressed an interest in the speech delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on April 4, 1967, at the Riverside Church, New York, New York.

Enclosed is one copy of this speech that was distributed at the church prior to King's speaking.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-106670

1 - 100-438794

(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:est
(7)

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-10-79 BY 9803 RDD/cmm
See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan,
April 10, 1967, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security
Matter - C," prepared by DMW:est.

Chatham
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Tandy

59 APR 19 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EX-103

REC-21 100-106670-2882

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RECORDED

Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 4-11-67

SECRET

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

DECLASSIFIED BY 94 JRM/ML
ON 9-7-80

April 7, 1967

5488, 8054
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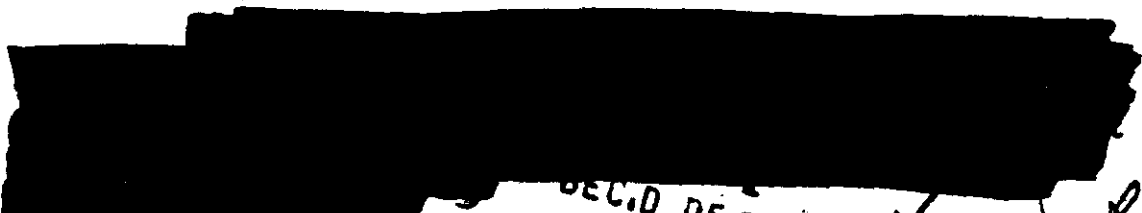
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

Martin Luther King, Jr., President, and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spent approximately eight hours in conference with King's top advisors in New York City on April 4, 1967. Two of the advisors present were Stanley Levison, a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as of July, 1963, and Harry Wachtel, a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

Later on the same day, King spoke at the Riverside Church, New York, New York, at which time he was highly critical of the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. He proposed a five-step process to extricate the United States from this conflict. Comments in the news media coverage of King's remarks pointed out that the five points are similar in concept to the conditions imposed by Hanoi as a prerequisite to negotiations. It is also noted that King's proposals parallel the propaganda line which the Communist Party, USA, has been projecting regarding the war in Vietnam.

SENT PER NOTATION
ON MEMORANDUM



- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes

REC-21

100-106670-288

1 - Bufile 100-43781

DHW:deh (12)

SECRET

51 APR 26 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

Excluded from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite 10/2/77

SECRET NOTE PAGE 2.

CLASS. & EXT. BY 202 RDB/EPH

REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 4-7-87

100-106670-288 COPY FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

NOTE:

See C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan memorandum dated 4/6/67, same caption, prepared by DMW:deh. u

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as the source for the above information is a highly sensitive source relating to the racial situation, and whose identity if revealed could cause serious damage to the national defense. u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE April 6, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

u
DD B. G. P.

Attached for your approval for dissemination are *u*
copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following:

On April 4, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spent eight hours in conference with King's top advisers in New York. Persons present included Stanley Levison, a long-time secret Communist Party member, and Harry Wachtel, a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist Party front. Later the same day, King gave a speech in New York attacking United States Vietnam policy. His proposed five steps for ending the Vietnam War according to news sources are similar to Hanoi's demands. They also parallel the Communist Party line.

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosures be forwarded by routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, The White House; Honorable Dean Rusk, The Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, The Secretary of Defense; The Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar. *u*

100-106670

1 - Bufile 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference:

DMW:dsm

(6)

Encs.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4VAM/ML
ON 9-7-80

SV 105, 8474 7878
6024

ENCLOSURE

REC-21

18 APR 13 1967

~~SECRET~~

Classified by 6080 LAM/ML
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CLASS. & EXT. BY 4803 RDP/ML
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 3
DATE 4-6-82



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 7, 1967

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 JML/ll
ON 1-21-81
6076

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past. u

NY
Martin Luther King, Jr., President, and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spent approximately eight hours in conference with King's top advisors in New York City on April 4, 1967. Two of the advisors present were Stanley Levison, a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as of July, 1963, and Harry Wachtel, a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. u

Later on the same day, King spoke at the Riverside Church, New York, New York, at which time he was highly critical of the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. He proposed a five-step process to extricate the United States from this conflict. Comments in the news media coverage of King's remarks pointed out that the five points are similar in concept to the conditions imposed by Hanoi as a prerequisite to negotiations. It is also noted that King's proposals parallel the propaganda line which the Communist Party, USA, has been projecting regarding the war in Vietnam. u

[REDACTED]

b(1)
S

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/SPM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-6-89

~~SECRET~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Classified by 6080 Lel/TAP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
12/2/77

100-106670-2881

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4JAM*

FBI

ON 1-21-81Date: 4/7/67Transmit the following in 6076

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

Via

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY *M/K*
DATE *4/7/67*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-NEW)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION TO BE
LED BY REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
IN BOSTON, MASS., SUMMER 1967

RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM concerning captioned matter. Atlanta is being furnished an information copy due to their interest in MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

Copies are being disseminated locally to 108th MI Group and Secret Service.

The source mentioned 

b7(D)

The LHM is being classified confidential to protect the identity of the source, being disclosed since this could jeopardize his future usefulness and be detrimental to the defense interest of the U.S.

Since the demonstration is not scheduled until the summer of 1967, this case is being closed by Boston. The Bureau and any interested office will be kept advised of future developments.

- ③ Bureau (Enc. 8) **ENCLOSURE**
- 1- Atlanta (100-5586) (Encs 1) (RM)
- 2- Boston
- 1-100-35794

JFN:vbm

(6)

DATE 3-31-81 *WGB***NOT RECORDED**

174 APR 17 1967

ENCLOSURE

NOT: AGS, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

CRD, RAD

*4/11/67**RIS**DMG/c*

CLASS. & EXT. 10-79

REASON: 25X II, 2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 7-87

9863 RAD/4m

7-87

59 APR 20 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

CONFIDENTIAL

Per

INT. SEC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-1

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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NOT RECORDED Boston airtel & l.h.m.

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1-2187
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY P41 mldh
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2 F B I
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4-7-82 Date: 4/7/67

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in

6076

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

(Priority) AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

SLIP (S) BY MLK

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

DATE 12-10-79

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

Re NY teletype dated 4/6/67, reporting conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and unknown male, during which time mention was made that KING and ROCKEFELLER (Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER) would meet soon.

Enclosed are ten copies of an LHM reporting information in referenced teletype. [redacted], a source close to STANLEY LEVISON, was the source of the information. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

[redacted]
b (1) [redacted]
[redacted]

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
2-Atlanta (100-5586) (Encls. 2) (RM)
4-New York
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
(1 - 100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)
(1 - 100-153735) (CIRM) (43)

JMK:pam
(11)

Classified by 6080 Lp/rp
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803200/KM
REASON-FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-7-87

Sent

M Per

Special Agent in Charge

62 APR 18 1967

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Do not
disseminate.
Inf sent to W.H.
State by
CIA by
APR 8 1967
at 4/11/67



UNIT(STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
April 7, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
Bureau File No. 100-106670

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JRM/MLK
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4-7-87

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

6076 A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 5, 1967, that information had come to his attention, which disclosed that Stanley Levison and an unknown male were in contact on that date. It was during their contact that Levison disclosed a recent contact between him and Rockefeller (believed to have alluded to Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York) about Venezuelan iron ore deposits which "they" (the Rockefeller interests) are negotiating with the Venezuelan Government.

According to Levison, after he and Rockefeller ended their business with regard to iron ore, Rockefeller asked him to arrange a meeting between Martin Luther King and himself, so that he, Rockefeller, could talk to him about his stand on Vietnam. Rockefeller, according to Levison, is in such disagreement with King that he feels he must talk to him.

It was Levison's feeling that Rockefeller's request was a real break, since King had mentioned on April 4, 1967, that he would like to confer with him about the situation in South America. King, Levison related, believes that South America will be the next Vietnam and therefore, wants to advise Rockefeller as to what action he should take to thwart it. Levison concluded his contact by informing the unknown male that he would contact King to determine when the meeting could be arranged.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY MLK
DATE 12-10-79

Classified by 10089 12/10/79
Exempt from GDS Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

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AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF Classification
DATE 12/22/78 JFB/KES

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

12-10-79 9813 RDD/ELM
2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-7-87

100-106670-288

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100 - 106670 - 2880 pg. 2

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FBI

Date: 4/ 3/67

mit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) (25-531360)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635) (25-45625)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

CASSIUS MARCELLUS CLAY, JR., Aka
SSN 15-47-42-127
SSA-1948; C.O.

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] c

- ⑤ - Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-106670 (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - Atlanta (Encl. 1) (100-5586) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (Encl. 1) (25-10704) (Info) (RM)
- 5 - Chicago

- 1 - 100-35356 (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - 100-31166 [REDACTED] c

JRS:mcg
(12)

ENCLOSURE

CLASS. & EXT. BY 11-7-79 5180 RCB/EM
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-3-77

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY
DATE 2/22/78 JEB/LAS

100-106670-

NOT RECORDED
198 APR 12 1967

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY
DATE 12/16/79 MLK

61 APR 19 1967

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

April 3, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY MLL
DATE 12/16/79

NATION OF ISLAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam (NOI) is characterized in
latter pages.

The "Chicago American," Green Streak Edition,
March 30, 1967, on page 35, carried an article entitled
"Clay Will Appeal Draft Order - Induction Now Set for
April 28," datelined Louisville. The article concerned
itself with Cassius Clay's involvement with the Selective
Service System and reflected Clay conferred with Dr. Martin
Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership
Conference, in Louisville, Kentucky for an hour on Wednesday,
March 29, 1967; that neither would say what they had talked
about, but did say they had some problems in common; that
Clay then had gone to a meeting of advocates for an open
housing law which is pending in Louisville.

"Chicago American" is a daily newspaper published
in Chicago.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

[REDACTED]

CLASS. & EXT. BY 6007 ASB/K
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-2-79

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY STG/LL
DATE 2-22-79

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ON 12/2/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ENCLOSURE

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declassification

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to
as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also
known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUAHMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

April 3, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title NATION OF ISLAM

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JMM/IL
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4-6-87

F B I

Date: 4/6/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

Re NY teletype dated 4/5/67, concerning conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and ALICE LOEWI.

Enclosed are nine copies of an LHM containing referenced information. _____ was the source of the information in the LHM. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

- ENCLOSURE
- 4-Bureau (Encls. 9) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-438794)
 - 2-Atlanta (100-5586) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - 5-New York
 - (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
 - (1 - 100-117870) (ALICE LOEWI)
 - (1 - 100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)
 - (1 - 100-152325) (GIBBY)

JMK:pam
(12)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) DATE 7/23/80

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

EX-113 18 APR 7 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

54 APR 18 1967

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DATE OF REVIEW 4-6-87

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE 7/23/80

C.C. Wick

Do not disseminate to WH, Sec of State
LHM. Disseminated to WH, Sec of State
5480-106670 287



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
April 6, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bureau 100-106670

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EXTENDED BY SP4 JAM/1
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 4-6-87

~~SECRET~~

6076 5468
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7351

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

AS OF 6-18-56 MEMBER OF COMMUNIST PARTY

On April 5, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had learned that Stanley Levison and Alice Loewi, a friend and former business associate, were in conference on that date. It was during that conference that they discussed Martin Luther King's speech of the previous night at the Riverside Church, New York City, when he urged everyone in the country to become conscientious objectors to military service. Loewi thought King's remarks were terrific and thought Levison had written his speech. Levison, in denying that he had, was certain that Andrew Young (the Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)) had written it for King. Levison acknowledged, however, that he had spent the entire day of April 4, 1967, with King, but did not attend the affair at the church.

In reply to a question from Loewi as to how King's spirits were, Levison said he was fine now that his conscience is clear. Levison, the source advised, is not in complete agreement with King on the tactics he has been using, and feels that King tends to be "too far out". In elaborating, Levison was of the opinion that one (King) could not ask everyone to be a conscientious objector because people do not want to go to jail. Instead of people resorting to such tactics, it was Levison's opinion that they would be more effective fighting the war in a political way.

Another example of poor tactics by King, according to Levison, is a plan advocated by King to get a thousand people in America to Hanoi and stand on the bridges,

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Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/3/77

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REASON FOR EXT. II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-6-67

ENCLOSURE

100-106670 2879

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OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
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SLIP(S) OF 11/16/77

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

thereby resulting in a cessation of the bombing. If King decides to do such a thing, Levison opined that it might really work since Americans would not bomb "Doctor King".

The contact between Levison and Loewi ended with Levison relating that King will continue to get public attention until April 15, 1967, when he addresses the affair sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam. NY
This demonstration will be held at the United Nations. S

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] S

b(1)

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TELETYPE UNIT

4 APR 5 1967

ENCODED MESSAGE

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY *S.P. J. J. J.*

REASON FOR EXTENSION

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

DECLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Wick _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI NEW YORK /19

732PM URGENT 4/5/67 WMS

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 12/10/79 MLK

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON

-- ENCODED --

FROM NEW YORK /2P

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) OF *classification*

DATE 2/22/78 *WFB/LES*

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C, OO:AT

Classified by *6080 Pab/RAP*

Exempt from GDS, Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/2/77

b(2) b(7)(D)

ADVISED ON INSTANT DATE,

STANLEY LEVISON IN CONTACT WITH ALICE LOEWI,

[REDACTED] DURING CONTACT, DISCUSSION CONCERNED
KING'S SPEECH ON NIGHT OF APRIL FOUR LAST, BEFORE GROUP AT RIVERSIDE
CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY, SPONSORED BY THE CLERGY AND LAYMEN CONCERNED
ABOUT VIETNAM. LOEWI THOUGHT KING'S REMARKS URGING EVERYONE TO BECOME
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS TO MILITARY SERVICE WERE TERRIFIC AND THOUGHT
LEVISON HAD WRITTEN KING'S SPEECH. LEVISON SAID HE WAS SURE IT WAS
WRITTEN BY ANDREW YOUNG (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)). LEVISON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE WAS WITH
KING FOR ALMOST ALL OF THE DAY ON APRIL FOUR LAST, BUT DID NOT ATTEND
AFFAIR AT CHURCH.

END PAGE ONE

77 APR 14 1967

SECRET

MR. TOLSON FOR THE DIRECTOR

DELAYED TO

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

AS TO KING'S SPIRITS, LEVISON NOTED THAT THEY WERE GREAT NOW SINCE KING FEELS HIS CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR. LEVISON ACCORDING TO SOURCE, IS NOT IN TOTAL AGREEMENT WITH KING ON TACTICS SINCE HE FEELS KING TENDS TO BE "TOO FAR OUT". IN EXPLAINING, LEVISON SAID ONE COULD NOT ASK ^EEVERYONE TO BE A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR BECAUSE PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO GO TO JAIL. BUT INSTEAD OF RESORTING TO SUCH TACTICS, LEVISON SAID, PEOPLE WANT TO FIGHT THE WAR POLITICALLY. ANOTHER INDICATION OF POOR TACTICS ACCORDING TO LEVISON, IS A PLAN ADVOCATED BY KING TO GET A THOUSAND AMERICANS TO GO TO HANOI ^A AND STAND ON BRIDGES, WHICH KING FEELS WOULD RESULT IN A CESSATION OF BOMBING. LEVISON OPINED THAT IF KING SHOULD DECIDE TO DO SUCH A THING, IT MIGHT WORK SINCE THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT BOMB ^E DR. KING.

THE CONTACT BETWEEN LEVISON AND LOEWI ENDED WITH LEVISON REMARKING THAT KING WILL CONTINUE TO GET PUBLIC ATTENTION UNTIL APRIL FIFTEEN NEXT, WHEN HE ADDRESSES THE SPRING MOBILIZATION ^E AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM AFFAIR.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

&

JRL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc - D.M. wells
CC. MR. SULLIVAN

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date:

4/3/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-57229)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

OO: ATLANTA

[REDACTED] advised KING, probably accompanied by BERNARD LEE, has reservations at the Hyatt House Hotel-Motel, Los Angeles, for 4/11, 12 and 13/67. [REDACTED] could furnish no additional information concerning KING's unexpected and unannounced visit to Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] is cognizant and will report any significant developments which might occur while KING is in the Los Angeles area.

No investigation is contemplated by this office but should KING make any public appearances or statements which might be of interest to the Bureau, or be in contact with known subversives, an appropriate letterhead memorandum will be prepared UACB.

Foregoing for information Bureau and Atlanta.

- 1-cc 944 94D
- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5586)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles

JST:lcs
(6)

REC 24

100-106670-2876

EX 106 12-7-79

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 2014 APR 5 1967

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 4-3-87

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY Sent MLK

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

12/10/79

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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